A VIEW OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL:

INCLUDING A
REPLY to the MISREPRESENTATIONS of Mr. BOLTS, and other WRITERS.

By HARRY VERELST, Esq.
Late GOVERNOR of BENGAL.

Difficilius est provincias obtinere, quam facere.
Viribus parantur, jure retinentur.

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GLOSSARY.

A.

ABDALLA Shah, king of the Durannies.—*Abdálla*, in Arabic, ſignifies the ſlave of God, from *Abd*, a ſlave, and *Alla*, the name or attribute of God; and *Shah* implies king.

Afghâns are thoſe tribes of Mahommedans who inhabit the northern parts of India, called ſometimes Pattâns, and eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in the country.

Anna, the ſixteenth part of a rupee.

Aſſámmies, dependents, or any perſons on whom a claim is made.

Attock, the name of a river that ſeparates the province of Lahôre from Peiſhor, the ſtream of which is moſtly ſo very rapid, that there is but one place where an army can conveniently paſs it.

Auméen, a Supra-viſor, or officer employed by the government to examine and regulate the ſtate of the revenues of any diſtrict.

Aumil, } *Aumîldar*, } An officer of the revenues, inferior to both an Auméen, and Zemeendar.

Aurúngs, places where goods are manufactured for ſale.

B.

Banyán, a Gentoo ſervant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

Barjáut, an oppreſſive cuſtom of forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price.

Bátta, exchange, alſo diet money, allowed to the troops in the field.

Bazár, or market, where all articles of life and luxury are daily ſold.

Bégum, a princeſs, a title given to every lady of rank.

Bégah, a meaſure of land;—ſee note at the bottom of page 221 of the Appendix, for a particular explanation of this meaſurement.

Béetle-leaf, the name of an aromatic leaf, growing like a vine, which the natives of India of all ranks conſtantly chew, with the nut called beetle-nut, and other ingredients, between their meals.

Béetle nut, the nut of a tall ſlender tree, eat with the beetle-leaf.

Bercundáſs, a match-lock man.

Board, in this publication always implies the governor and council at Fort William in Bengal.

Buxy, or rather *Bukſhy*, a pay-maſter.

C.

Callárry, a falt work.
Canóngoes, regifters of the Subah or province appointed by the fovereign.
Cawn, properly *Khan*, a lord, a title given to every man of rank.
Chókies, watch-houfes; alfo places appointed in different parts of the country for collecting the public cuftoms and duties upon all branches of foreign and inland trade, paffing through thofe diftricts, not included in duftuck privileges.
Chokeydár, the officer of a guard.
Chout, a fourth part. Commonly ufed for the tribute of the fourth part of the revenues which the Maharattas have endeavoured to impofe on the Subah of Bengal.
Choutárry, a Bengal corruption of *Chout*.
Chówdrahs, land-holders, in the next rank to Zemêen-dars.
Chúklah, the jurifdiction of a Fouzdar, who receives the rents from the Zemêen-dars, and accounts for them with the government.
Chunár-gur, a very ftrong fortrefs belonging to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, in the province of Oud, within about 7 cofs of Benâres.
Chunám, lime.
Comár lands, having no native tenants, are lands cultivated by contract.
Cofs lands, are lands under the immediate fuperintendence of government, for want of farmers.
Cofs or *Cofe*, a meafure they commonly compute diftances by in India, and is about two geometrical miles, or 4000 yards.
Cooley, a day-labourer.
Cowries, fhells that pafs for money in Bengal, 80 *cowries* are called a *pun*, and from 50 to 60 *puns* are commonly the value of a rupee.
Cuffore, an allowance upon the exchange of rupees, in contradiftinction to *Batta*.
Cutchérry, a court of juftice; alfo the office into which the rents are delivered.
Cutwáll, an inferior officer of the police, whofe bufinefs is to try and decide petty mifdemeanors.

D.

Dádney, money advanced for goods.
Dándee, a waterman or rower.
Dawks, ftationed letter-carriers, at ftages of about 10 miles diftance, for the conveying of letters exprefs.
Deloll or *Dallál*, a broker.—See *Pykar*.
Dewán,—for a defcription of both the original and prefent idea of this office, fee Appendix, pag. 136, paragraphs 13 and 14.
Dewán-conna, the Dewan's court or office.
Dewánny, fee Appendix, pag. 41.
Derobúst Purgúnnahs, whole or entire *purgunnahs*, which depend entirely on a fingle Zemêen-dar.
Dhee, the ancient limits of any village or parifh; thus *Dhee Calcutta* means only that part which was originally inhabited.
Droga, or *Daróga*, an overfeer or fuperintendent.
Dúfter-conna, the office for keeping the government's accounts.—In common ufage, any office or compting-houfe.
Durbár, the court of any great man.

Duftóre,

Dustóre, a custom or fee.

Dústuck, a passport, or permit; but usually implies the passport given by the governor of Fort William, or the chiefs of the English factories, for the goods of the company or their servants, which exempts them from the payment of duties.—See *Chokies*.

F.

Firmáun, litterally signifies an order, but is used for a patent or grant from the emperor;—and, among the English, always means the charter which the company obtained from the king Furrukhseer, by which they hold their privileges.

Ferd Huckeekút, a manifest or memorial.

Ferd Sawál, a petition.

Fowzdâr, the chief magistrate of a large district, called a Chuklah.—See *Chuklah*.

G.

Gaut, a landing-place where customs are usually collected.

Gaut-barry, or *Kat-barra*, a tax levied upon boats at the Gauts, or Chokies.

Ghazi al din Khan signifies the illustrious champion of religion.—This great but wicked prince was the vizier who murdered the father of the present emperor of Hindoostan, in 1760.

Ghee, clarified butter.

Golah, a warehouse, usually constructed with mat or mud walls, and covered with thatch, for keeping grain, salt, &c.

Gomástah, a black agent or factor.—See *Pykars*.

Gunge, a market principally for grain.

Gúnnies, coarse canvass, for bags, wrappers, &c.

Guzerbáun, an officer who collects the customs at the ferries.

H.

Haut, a market on stated days.

Hazárry, a commander of gun-men, literally a commander of a thousand.

Higira, or *Hijra*, the flight of Mahommed from Mecca to Medina, from which the Mahommedan æra commences, happened on the 16th July, A. D. 622.

Hircárra, a spy.

Hindostán, India is known in the East by the name of *Hindoo-stan*, which signifies the country of the *Hindoos* or swarthy people; *Hindoo* being swarthy or black, and *Stan* a country. The capital whereof is Dehly, which, since Shah Jehan removed the seat of empire thither from Agra, in the year 1647, is usually known in the East by the name of Shah Jehan-abad, or Shah Jehan's habitation; as Agra is often called Akbar-abad, or Shah Akbar's habitation; and is about 44 measured Coss from Dehly.

Husb-ul-hookum, a patent or order, under the seal of the Vizier, with these initial words signifying "according to the command."

Huck Alwazeerut, the fees of the Vizier.

Hustabóods, rent-rolls, of either a grand division or lesser districts of land.

Hyder-abád, the capital of Nizam Ally, Soubah of the Deccan; it was formerly called Bhagnagur, and is about 371 miles distant from Dehly. There is a castle in

in this province called *Golconda*, by which name the whole province is usually known in Europe. *Hyder-abad* signifies the habitation or residence of *Hyder*, the Arabic appellative for a *lion*, a title often given to men of rank in the East.

I.

Islám, which literally signifies safety, usually means the true faith, according to Mahommedans.

Jaghéer, an assignment of any part of the revenues of the state for military service.

Júngles, or rather *Junguls*, thickets of wood, high grass, or reeds.

Júmma, valuation.

Júmma bundy, a rent-roll.

Jemmâut-dar, or *Jámadar*, a military commander; also the head or superintendent of the peons in the Sewâury, or train of any great man.

K.

Kátbarra, see *Gaut-barry*.

Kazzee, or *Kâzy*, the chief magistrate appointed to administer justice in all causes to the Mahommedans, according to their written law; he being generally a person of the greatest repute and learning, a copy of any writing attested by him is authentic.

Kélla, a fort, or citadel.

Kelladár, the governor of a fort.

Kerria, a parish or village.

Khálsa Sheréefa, whatever accounts belong immediately to the emperor are called *Khalsa*; the word *Shereefa* added to it, implies noble or magnificent.

Kissmutt, a division;—*Kérria Kissmut*, part of a parish, being such a proportion as is included in the Sunnud.

Kist, the amount of a stated payment.

Kistbundee, an agreement for the stated payments of a sum of money, to be discharged at different times.

Krore, a hundred lacks, or ten millions.

L.

Lack of Rupees, or one hundred thousand: a rupee is a silver coin, struck in the Moghul mints, with an inscription of his name and titles, the year of his reign, and the place it was coined at. There are various species of rupees annually coined in India, differing a little in both weight and quality. The best are the Siccas of the current year, worth about 2*s*. 6*d*. sterling. See *Sún*.

M.

Mahál, any land, or a public fund, yielding a revenue to the government.

Mahâl Serâi, the women's apartments.

Mahómmed, which signifies *praised*, is prefixed (or understood to be so) to almost every Mussulman's name. It is a Tetragrammaton, or word of four letters; namely, *Mim*, *Hha*, *Mim*, *Dal*, which, with the *Teshdid* over the latter *Mim* to shew it must be doubled, properly make five characters.

Malguzárry, the land-revenue.

Maha Rája, signifies *the great prince*; *Maha* being *great* or *mighty* in the Sanskerreet or Bramin's language, and *Rajah*, *prince*.

Manjee,

Manjee, the helmsman of a boat.
Mangban, or Mângon, a tax or imposition levied by the officers of the Chokeys and Gauts, as a perquisite for themselves and Zemeendars.
Maund, a variable weight. In Bengal from 72 to 80lb.
Mobûr, a seal; also a gold rupee of variable value, worth from 12 to 16 silver rupees.
Mobôoree, any writer, or under clerk, among the natives in Bengal.
Molûngbee, a worker of salt.
Moûza, a parish or village; but properly signifies a *place*.
Mûkkaudum, a superiour officer of the revenues in a village, the same as *Chowdry*.
Mûnsby, a secretary for the Persian language.
Mûnsub, a dignity, or title.
Mutchûlcab, a written obligation.
Mûsnud, an elevated place of distinction in the Durbar, covered with a cloth, or carpet, for the prince to sit on; also a throne.
Muttaseddee, a general name for all officers employed in taking the accounts of the government, or of any person of consequence.

N.

Nabôb, (properly *Navâb*, being the plural of *Naib*) a title given to every person of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally used to signify the *Nazim*.
Naib, a deputy.
Nuncâr, or rather *Nancâr*, an allowance in an assignment upon the revenues, or the lands themselves, given as charity for the relief of the poor.
Nazîm, the first officer of a province, in whose hands the executive power is lodged; by way of distinction he is styled the Subah-dar, or Nabôb.
Naic, a subaltern officer of the Sepoys, of the rank of a corporal.
Neabut, a deputyship.
Nûzzer, a present to a superior.
Nûzzer-ânna, a sum paid to the government, as an acknowledgment for a grant of lands, or any public office.
Nizamût, the office, or post of a Nazîm.

O.

Omrab, plural of the Arabic *Ameer*, which signifies *prince*, is a title given to all the nobility of the first rank in the Mogul empire.

P.

Peon, a footman, or attendant, armed with sword and target.
Purgûnnab, or *Pergâna*, the largest division of land in a Zemeen-darry.
Perwânnab, a grant, or letter under a great seal, from any man of power to a dependent.
Pêshcush, a tribute paid to the crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure.
Podâr, a money-changer, or teller, under a Shroff.
Pulwâr, a light boat used for dispatches.
Pyke, a watchman employed as a guard at night.
Pôonab, the time for adjusting the estimate of the revenues to be collected the ensuing year.—See Appendix, page 136, paragraph 14.

Pôttahs, leases containing the quantity of land possessed by each farmer, and the amount of rent with which it is charged.

Pykârs, (*Dellôls*, and *Gomâshtahs*) are a chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandize pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the storehouse of the cultivator, to the public merchant, or exporter.

Panjâb, or *Panjáeb*, the ancient name of the province of Lahôre; it signifies the five waters or rivers, so many running through that province, and falling into the river Scind, known in Europe by the name of Indus.

R.

Râjah, a title given to every Gentoo of rank,—in the Indian language signifying prince:—originally it was appropriated only to the principal Zemêen-dars.

Rânnee, princess.

Rowâna, a passport or certificate from the collector of the customs.

Roy rôyan, the principal officer under the Dewân, who has the immediate change of the crown lands.

Rissâla, an independent corps of horse.

Rissâldar, the commander of such a corps.

Rupee, a silver coin worth about 2*s*. 6*d*.—See *Lack of Rupees*. See also *Sun*.

Ryot, or *Reiat*, a tenant or farmer.

Resident at the Durbar; for a description of the nature and duties of this office, see Appendix, page 137, paragraphs 15 and 16.

Ryôtty lands, or lands farmed out, tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the spot.

S.

Seer, the fortieth part of a Maund.

Sepôy, a soldier.—This word is generally used for the Indian infantry, disciplined after the European manner.

Serâi, a baiting place for travellers.

Sewâury, the train of attendants who accompany any principal person on the road.

Sezawâul, the same as Tahsildar.—An officer employed at a monthly salary to collect the revenues.

Shah, king, or emperor.

Shah Aalum, or *Allum*, (the title of the present emperor of Hindostan,) signifies king of the world.

Shah-zada, the king's son, or more properly *royally born*; because it is a title equally applied to both the sons and daughters of kings.

Sherîef, noble, magnificent.

Shroff, properly *Seráf*, a banker, or money-changer.

Sicca, any new coin; it means *stampt* or *sealed*; but is particularly used for the standard silver rupee of the Bengal mints.

Sicdâr, the collector of the rents of a village.

Sircâr, the state or government.—In common usage in Bengal, the under Banyans of European gentlemen are called *Sircârs*.

Sirdâr, or *Surdâr*, a chief, leader, or commander.

Subáh, a province; improperly used for the *Subahdar*; and is the same as *Subahship*, *Subahdárry*, or *Nizamut*.

Subahdár, the governor of a province, or literally a holder of a *Súbah*; the same as *Nabôb*, or *Nazîm*.—Also the black commander of a company of Sepoys.

Subahdarry,

Subabdárry, or *Subabship*, the office of a *Subabdar*.
Sun, the year: thus Siccas of the 1ſt, 2d, or 3d *Sun*, are the ſtandard ſilver rupees of the 1ſt, 2d, or 3d year of a prince's reign; which is marked on the coin. See *Lack of Rupees*.
Súnnud, a grant.
Sunót, properly *Sunwaút*, rupees of old dates, on which a diſcount is allowed.

T.

Talóok, a ſmall Zemêen-darry.
Talóok-dár, the Zemêen-dar of a ſmall diſtrict.
Tahſildar, or *Sezawaúl*, an officer employed for a monthly ſalary to collect the revenues.
Tankſáll, a mint.
Tánna, a ſmall fort.
Tanna-dar, a commander of a ſmall fort.
Teep, a note of hand.
Telinga, a Sepoy; ſo called from a country of that name, from whence the firſt Sepoys were probably enliſted.
Toffaúl, a collection of Callârrys, or ſalt pans.
Tomtom, a name vulgarly given to the Indian drums uſed in proclamations, and rejoycings.
Tuncáw, an aſſignment.

U.

Ultumgáu, properly *Altum-ghau*, an allowance paid from the revenues to religious, or learned men.

V.

Vakeel, an attorney, or agent.
Vizarút, the poſt, or office of Vizier.

W.

Wadadár, an officer of the collections.

Y.

Yeſſawául, a ſtate meſſenger.

Z.

Zeméen, land.
Zeméen-dár, literally a land-holder, accountable to government for the revenue.
Zeméen-dárry, the office of a Zemêen-dar, or the lands held by him.
Zenána, belonging to women, the woman's apartment, the Seraglio.

The compiler of this Gloſſary has not heſitated to avail himſelf of the gloſſaries of Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Bolts, and other writers on India affairs; as they have been found, in general, ſufficiently explanatory of the articles in queſtion.

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INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

A REFUTATION of ſuch Parts of "Conſiderations on INDIA Affairs" as are not referred to any general Diviſion of this Work.

THE power and dominion acquired within a few years by the Engliſh Eaſt India company, the great importance of their poſſeſſions to the wealth and proſperity of Great Britain, the immenſe revenue derived to the ſtate from their commerce, have at length awakened the public attention. An univerſal deſire ſeems now to prevail of obtaining information upon this important ſubject. The materials of knowledge, however, are ſcarce. Few publications appear which are not dictated by private paſſion, or intereſted views. An envy moreover, attending the large fortunes acquired by ſome individuals, has given an eaſy credit to the moſt extravagant aſſertions of malice, or diſappointed ambition. To remove in ſome degree an impreſſion ſo injurious to individuals, ſo ruinous to the public intereſt, is the object of the following ſheets; and without pretending to greater virtue than other writers, I ſhall add, that neither the time nor occaſion will admit a wilful miſrepreſentation, which muſt ſoon be expoſed to detection.

The confusion in which "Considerations on India Affairs," published by Mr. Bolts, are studiously involved, affords abundant opportunities to pervert the truth; and is in itself therefore but an indifferent argument in favour of the author's candor. At the same time this laboured disorder effectually precludes me, who wish to inform, from following that writer through all his undigested mass of multifarious and libellous misrepresentation. Should I content myself with giving order and arrangement to the little work, which is now submitted to the public eye, an intelligent reader would find therein a sufficient refutation of what Mr. Bolts has thought fit to advance. The historical deduction, for instance, in the first chapter, must demolish his representation of political transactions, by proving those acts of the select committee to have flowed from a sense of duty, and knowledge of the public interest, which that gentleman has attributed to malignant passions, or to yet meaner motives.

The same observation will apply to every part of his book; and even the last chapter of the present work, which has no appearance of being a direct answer, may yet serve to prove, that many favourite positions, drawn from the laws and manners of Great Britain, are mere words, when applied to a very different situation of things in Bengal. But as many readers will not give themselves the trouble to consider the subject in this view, it will be necessary, before I enter upon the execution of my own plan, to examine that chaos of invective, which is so written by Mr. Bolts as to admit little order in the comment.

To misrepresent the plainest subjects is no very difficult task. "It is a "false way of reasoning against religion," says the president Montesquieu, "to collect a long detail of all the evils it has produced." History will, undoubtedly, acquaint us with innumerable mischiefs, which seem to have flowed from this source. Yet religion, or a knowledge of those relations, which the Creator has established, is the source of all moral obligation; and the fear of his displeasure, the best sanction of those laws, which the finger of the Deity has thus prescribed to man. In ridicule

dicule of ſuch attempts, an eſſay was compoſed ſome few years ſince by a very ingenious writer, who produced a long catalogue of miſchiefs ariſing from civil eſtabliſhments; and affected, with great gravity, to evince, that the abolition of all government would be productive of private happineſs. He ſo far ſucceeded, that a learned biſhop employed much time in refuting this formidable antagoniſt, without once recollecting, that the experience of mankind had already decided the queſtion, by eſtabliſhing *ſome government* in every corner of the earth. To come nearer home, the wits of this iſland have found ſo large a field for the exerciſe of their talents in the practice of Weſtminſter Hall, that there are not wanting perſons, who think juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered with us, as it is in Turkey, forgetting that a government *by law* has alone raiſed Great Britain to preeminence among the kingdoms of Europe, and made her proſperity the admiration and envy of ſurrounding nations. If ſubjects the moſt intereſting to mankind, on which they have added experience to theory, are nevertheleſs ſo open to miſrepreſentation, what muſt be the condition in this reſpect of a naſcent, unſettled ſtate, where all dominion, after the confuſion of ſucceſſive revolutions, is transferred to a few ſtrangers, and where the conquerors, living under their own laws of freedom amidſt a nation of ſlaves, exhibit a ſituation without parallel in hiſtory?

It muſt be evident that ſo great a change would extort many acts from the governor and council in Bengal, which were not ſtrictly within the intention of the legiſlature, when powers were granted to the company with a view to occaſions, very different from thoſe which have ſince ariſen. Thus, to counteract the eſtabliſhment of an Oſtend company, the three nations * poſſeſſed of the Eaſt India commerce forbad their reſpective ſubjects to engage in a foreign ſervice. The excluſive trade of our company had before been ſecured by penalties to be recovered in England; but upon this occaſion the legiſlature authorized the company to † ſeize any Britiſh ſubject who ſhall *ſail, go, or repair* to

* Great Britain, France, and Holland.

† 5 Geo. I. ch. 21.

 the

the East Indies contrary to law. Within four years, two more * acts passed, by which, among other provisions, it is enacted, that all such persons who go to the East Indies, shall be deemed traders, and, consequently subject to the several penalties inflicted upon persons under that description. The company are moreover authorized to seize, and bring to England, all unlicensed persons who shall *go to or be found in* India. These provisions, derived plainly from a commercial jealousy, the company have since made the means of imposing such conditions upon the free merchant and others in Bengal, as were found from experience to be necessary for the safety of the country, and protection of its inhabitants.

When, for instance, the power of the English nation gave effect to usurpations of the private trader, who decided his own claims, oppressing the natives, and threatening the officers of government, if they presumed to interfere, successive governors of different parties agreed in the necessity of confining the free merchant to the company's † presidency. This regulation, which all approved, and which reiterated orders of the directors confirmed, was made a condition of residence under the company's protection.

Thus also, when frequent complaints were made by Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, of numberless oppressions committed by English agents, who, contrary to treaty ‡, traded in his dominions, the governor and council issued *general* prohibitions; yet Mr. Bolts represents all these regulations, founded on the most evident necessity, as *expedients* to oppress *particular* individuals; and assuming afterwards his own assertion as

* 7 Geo. I. ch. 21. 9 Geo. I. ch. 26.
These laws were temporary, and have been prolonged from time to time. It is remarkable that all offences against these are excepted out of the general pardon so late as 20 Geo. II.

† Company's servants were, of course, confined to their several stations.

‡ When peace was concluded, it was intended to have English factories in the dominions of Oude, but Sujah al Dowlah represented, that a private trade in his dominions must necessarily be productive of disputes with the English, and would probably end in his destruction, as it had before ruined Meer Cossim. A clause, stipulating a free commerce *for the company* was inserted in the treaty, but Sujah al Dowlah was given to understand, that this right should not be exercised without positive orders from England; and that *no* English *private traders* should, on any account, be permitted in his dominions.

a truth,

a truth, he makes this curious reflection *, " It is true, that ſuch reſtric-
" tions have never been laid but upon particular perſons whom the com-
" pany deſigned to oppreſs and cruſh. But how miſerable and deſpicable
" muſt that ſtate of the government of the company's affairs be, wherein
" the general ſyſtem of juſtice is ſtopped or perverted for the ſake of op-
" preſſing an individual." Without denying the inference, it is impoſſible to admit the fact. " *It is true,*" that one trader, and only one, who had committed many enormities, for which the ſevereſt puniſhment was juſtly due; who had been reprimanded by the directors; whoſe conduct had been equally obnoxious to ſucceſſive unconnected governors; who had threatened the officers of the country government for attempting to diſcharge their duty; who had traded contrary to public treaties in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah; who by repeated promiſes to withdraw this trade, had obtained letters from the governor to the ſubah of Oude, requeſting that every aſſiſtance might be given in collecting his effects; who, diſregarding his own voluntary repeated promiſes, had perſevered in this commerce, and by his intrigues endangered the peace of India: *It is true,* that ſuch a man, after a delay of nearly two years, was ſeized, and ſent to Europe. But it will not neceſſarily follow from the admiſſion of ſuch a fact, that " the general ſyſtem of juſtice is ſtopped or perverted for the ſake of oppreſſing an individual." *It is true,* likewiſe, that ſeveral officers who had endeavoured to diſband the whole army in Bengal, by a general combination to reſign their commiſſions in one day, were deemed dangerous in India; and refuſing voluntarily to depart, were therefore ſent by force to Europe. Mr. Bolts labours through more than twenty pages to prove this power of ſeizing perſons illegal. But even the doubts, which have always attended the exerciſe of this power, prove it not to have been the wanton inſtrument of oppreſſion. The very few inſtances to be found regard ſuch † perſons as could not interfere with any private intereſts of the governor and council; and it is utterly incredible, that theſe gentlemen would riſque their own fortunes by an act which muſt come before an Engliſh jury, unleſs the duty of their ſtations exacted ſuch conduct at their hands. Then indeed they might juſtly expect protection from the purſe of the company.

* Conſiderations, p. 73.

† Moſtly military men.

Could

Could we even believe these gentlemen to have been actuated by improper motives towards men, of whom they seldom have any personal knowledge, what can we say of the directors? Yet Mr. Bolts informs us, in a note at the bottom of page 147, that the "directors in their general "letters since 1764 have been used very injudiciously to authorize their "governor and council at Bengal, at their own discretion, to with-"draw their protection from, or seize and send to Europe any person or "persons, who might be guilty of the smallest contravention of their "orders."

The reader should be informed, that the year 1764 is the period when it was first known in England, that the violence of private traders had overturned the country government, and involved us in a war with Meer Cossim; that the consequent orders of the directors, necessary to the peace of the country and safety of the natives, had been repeatedly contemned; and that all now confess the justice and propriety of the restraints then imposed, although men from interested motives were at that time tempted to disobey.

It was foreseen by Mr. Bolts, that such reasoning would not be conclusive, unless interspersed with flaming paragraphs, round assertions, and some few facts, which, to a careless eye, or mind unacquainted with the subject, may wear the face of proofs. He concludes, therefore, his chapter on "*Transportation*," in this manner *. "It is principally owing to "this exorbitant power, the exercise of which has been greatly encouraged "by the directors in their letters to Bengal, that we must attribute the "immense fortunes which have been of late so rapidly *squeezed from the* "*natives* in those parts, and which will continue to bring those provinces "nearer and nearer to destruction, if effectual measures be not speedily "taken to prevent *such violences*, to enable the *injured* more easily to ob-"tain relief, and to inflict exemplary punishment on *such oppressors*. If "this be not speedily done, neither the company, nor the nation, can

* Considerations, p. 147.

"have

"have a right knowledge of their own true interefts in Indian matters, "and pofterity will juftly remark of this period of the eighteenth cen-"tury, that it was then fuppofed the law of the land for Britons in India "to be imprifoned, banifhed, and tranfported, by the Englifh Eaft-India "company, unaccufed, and unheard in their defence."

Well calculated as this paffage may be to work upon the honeft preju-dices of an Englifh reader, it is difficult to conceive why *we are to attri-bute fortunes rapidly fqueezed out of the natives*, to the practice of fend-ing a dangerous *European* to England; or how the prevention of *fuch vio-lences*, or punifhments of *fuch oppreffors* will fave the provinces from that approaching ruin which Mr. Bolts denounces. Was Mr. Bolts (whofe whole continuance in Bengal was one fcene of complaints, replies, repri-mands, and contentions,) tranfported *unaccufed or unheard in his defence?*

The mode of reafoning in conftant ufe with Mr. Bolts, is by declaim-ing ftrongly on *poffible* effects to inflame the mind, to mention a *particu-lar* fact, which proves nothing, and then very liberally to deal forth gene-ral invectives, leaving the reader to fuppofe practices thus alluded to have frequently prevailed. Who would not, from the following paf-fage, be lead to imagine, that the practice of fending to Europe had been fo common as to deftroy all private credit? The reader will, per-haps, be furprifed to learn, that Mr. Bolts is the fingle inftance of a trader being *fo tranfported** during many years. Yet he gravely tells us, in p. 140, "The effects in India of fudden tranfportation, with refpect "to deftroying of credit and all private fecurity, muft appear evident, and "indeed, have been feverely felt by the *generality* of Britifh fubjects, "fince thofe tyrannies have been practifed in Bengal, for it is well known, "that any young writer in the company's fervice will now find it more "difficult to borrow *five hundred* rupees of a black merchant, than fix "years ago he would have *five thoufand*."

* This happened twenty months after he had publicly declared to the governor and council that he had relinquifhed all trade. He himfelf faid, in his examination before the committee of the houfe of commons, that he knew of none befides himfelf, except military men, that had been fent to Europe.

This

This laſt mentioned fact, which is ſuppoſed to be a concluſive proof of all theſe dreadful conſequences, may be true, but has no application to the ſubject. *Six years ago* will nearly carry us back to the treaty concluded with Nudjum al Dowlah. The reader muſt here be informed, that a trade, free from duties, had been claimed by the company's ſervants, ſupported by their forces, and eſtabliſhed by the laſt treaty with Meer Jaffier; and that this article, although condemned by the directors, was afterwards tranſcribed into the treaty with his ſon Nudjum al Dowlah. The contention during two years with Meer Coſſim, in ſupport of this trade, greatly weakened the country government, which his ſubſequent overthrow quite annihilated. At this time, many "*black merchants*" found it expedient to purchaſe the name of "*any young writer in the company's ſervice*," by loans of money, and under this ſanction, harraſſed and oppreſſed, or (as Mr. Bolts elegantly expreſſes it) "*ſqueezed the natives.*" So plentiful a ſupply was derived from this ſource, that before lord Clive's arrival, many "*young* " *writers*" were enabled to ſpend 1500 l. and 2000 l. per annum, were cloathed in fine linen, and fared ſumptuouſly every day. *This credit* certainly declined, when the orders of the directors were enforced by the ſelect committee. Had theſe gentlemen thought fit to ſupport *ſuch a credit*, they would, to uſe the expreſſion of lord Clive in his letter to the directors, have found "the ſettlement in general their friends, and only the natives of the country their enemies."

Having mentioned the treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah, it is worth remarking, that Mr. Bolts does not heſitate to miſquote paſſages from public letters, whenever, by ſo doing, he can aid his other arts of miſrepreſentation. Where every, the minuteſt, tranſaction is committed to paper, and canvaſſed in a correſpondence between the directors in England, and the company's ſervants in Bengal, it is obvious what advantage may be *hence* derived, if a man can ſtoop to the meanneſs of *wilful* miſquotation. To follow our author through every inſtance of this ſpecies of deceit, would not only require a careful peruſal of all the public correſpondence, but would, in itſelf, be uſeleſs, ſince one inſtance will ſuffice to deſtroy the credit of Mr. Bolts. The directors, enraged with the abovementioned con-

tempt

tempt of their orders, direct the council in their letter of February 1766, to transmit *a renunciation of that part of the treaty* in form to the nabob. A change of circumstances had been made by their servants the plea for an interested disobedience. They therefore add, " whatever government " may be established, or whatever unforeseen occurrences may arise, it is " our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade in " salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco,*" meaning the inland trade carried on *by individuals* under a forced construction of the firmaun, recognized by these treaties. Yet Mr. Bolts, fully possessed of the truth, applies this prohibition to the society established† in consequence of positive injunctions from the proprietors " *to regulate the inland trade*," which regulations were not then known in England, and consequently could not be condemned. It is impossible to regard the misrepresentation of this subject by Mr. Bolts as derived from error on his part, because the letter by him mentioned recites the article of the treaty afterwards referred to; because it speaks of the trade of individuals *thereby* stipulated, severely condemning the conduct of governor Spencer and his council in this business; and lastly, because Mr. Bolts in his book, page 180, uses the very phrase of the letter, " *transmit such renunciation in form to the nabob* " *in the Persian language*," dropping in the midst of the sentence these words " *of this part of the treaty*."

In the same page with his acute observations on private credit, continuing the invective against *sudden transportation*, Mr. Bolts exhibits a very alarming picture of *possible* abuses. He supposes the absent and innocent to be equally involved, the widow and orphan to fall in one undistinguished ruin with these miserable *exiles*. Having warmed his imagination, he proceeds to describe the governor as a rich tyrant, but without subjects. The governor has banished all the former inhabitants of the settlement, leaving to himself nothing but the houses. Conceiving that a man sent away suddenly, must sell all his effects cheap, Mr. Bolts, being a good merchant, makes transportation the means employed by a purchaser. " In any or all of these cases the governor himself, or he and " some of his chief counsellors, might become purchasers of all the

* Considerations, p. 180.

† In August 1765.

" houses, ships, goods or merchandize in the settlement; which would " be no small *stroke* in trade, and of a piece with many such *strokes* as " have been often known to be *struck* SUCCESSFULLY under arbitrary " or despotic governments*". In the first part of the sentence, they *might* become purchasers; but forgetting that the whole was a fiction, Mr. Bolts, in the latter part, strongly insinuates, by the help of *Italics* and large LETTERS, that such practices not uncommonly prevail.

This is not the only imputation *thus* conveyed. If *Italics* mean any thing, those nabobs who " died *suddenly*," had their departure hastened by management. Lest the *Italics* should escape the reader's attention, or as he might not know against whom the insinuation was directed, LORD CLIVE and MR. SYKES in large characters catch the eye on the preceding line, p. 47, employed in regulating this same nabob's income. A few lines lower another youth, who died of the small-pox after an illness of eleven days, " dies suddenly," and " the allowance of the " nabob is again reduced†." Lest all this honest industry should be lost, Mr. Bolts conjectures the fate of the present nabob, shrewdly observing that " considering the late fatality among nabobs, it is reasonable to ima- " gine the race of them in Bengal is nearly at an end." In a note to page 44, the reader is informed that " upon all these revolutions, large " sums of money were obtained by the persons who conducted them from " every *new made* nabob." Then follow some extracts from a letter published by lord Clive and from another by Mr. Johnstone, respecting presents. This note is subjoined as an illustration of a text, which describes the nabob wholly dependent on the English governor and council. Had some little order been given to the facts here mentioned, it would have appeared, that the presents made to lord Clive and others, in the year 1757, were rewards of the most honourable services, at a time when the English company had few forces in Bengal, the nabob Meer Jaffier possessing a large army and the full dominion of his country. That the presents received by Mr. Johnstone and others in the year 1765, were in consequence of no services, the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah being disarmed by treaty, and all power transferred to the English council; given, in short,

* Considerations, p. 140.

† The nabob's allowance was not reduced on the death of Seyf al Dowlah, as here asserted by Mr. Bolts.

under

under ſuch circumſtances, that Mr. Vereſt did not think it conſiſtent with his honour to accept any part. Laſtly, it would have appeared that before the *ſudden* deaths mentioned by Mr. Bolts, the ſource of theſe preſents had been removed by a grant of the revenue to the Engliſh Eaſt India company; and that therefore it was impoſſible, conſiſtently with truth, to ſuggeſt a motive for the perpetration of ſo horrid a crime. The ſubject is here mentioned only to ſhew the manner in which Mr. Bolts treats the characters of men, who have laboured at leaſt to render ſome ſervice to their country. Perhaps it may not be improper to point out the dilemma, in which this gentleman has involved himſelf. By concealing his *ſuſpicion* * during his reſidence in Bengal ſubſequent to 1766, he incurs the guilt of an accomplice, whether the fact be *true* or *falſe*. If he entertained *no ſuſpicion*, let the reader give a name to his preſent attempt †.

No ſubject is ſafe in the hands of Mr. Bolts. He will not ſuffer the aſhes of king William to reſt in peace; nay, the two houſes of parliament become the authors of fraud. The confines of legiſlative and executive power are often ſo nicely blended, that we muſt not be ſurpriſed if they have ſometimes been miſtaken. In the reigns of the Tudors, this diſtinction was little underſtood, and leſs regarded. In the reigns of the Stuarts, the poſſibility of completely ſeparating theſe powers, without overturning all kingly government, was, with equal warmth, affirmed and denied by contending parties. After the Revolution, a charter was obtained from the crown, erecting a company who were to trade to India.

* A man who had intimated a ſuſpicion of this kind, would only have made himſelf ridiculous in Bengal, where the truth was notorious; but theſe baſe inſinuations may nevertheleſs have ſome effect in inflaming the uninformed mind of an Engliſh reader.

† Mr. Dow has this paſſage, p. 89, vol. iii. "The princes whom we raiſed in Bengal, vaniſhed imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unſubſtantial as the ſhew of power, with "which, as in deriſion, we inveſted them, they diſappeared, like Romulus, but without a ſtorm. "The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, "if not our friend, was very opportune in his frequent viſits to the Muſnud. In the courſe "of five years, three nabobs expired; and the unfledged ſovereign, who acceded to the nominal "government of Bengal, on the March of 1770, has already enjoyed, conſidering the times, "a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are uſeleſs; and they are diſmiſſed to their fathers "without either ceremony or noiſe." A man who hopes to obtain credit ſhould exhibit ſomething like a proof in ſupport of ſo extraordinary a charge.

This charter, copied from some of a more ancient date, contained a clause granting an *exclusive* trade. Such a clause, being restrictive of the rights of other persons, was manifestly a legislative act; and therefore illegal, without the concurrence of parliament. No sooner was the error discovered, than the crown relinquished its claim: but the measure being deemed politically right, an exclusive privilege of trade was immediately granted by parliament, and the two companies were afterwards united in the sixth year of queen Anne. Yet Mr. Bolts represents the first charter as confirmed *by parliament*, to introduce this observation, that it "was almost "immediately set at nought by a self-erected, unchartered company of "adventurers, who traded directly to India in defiance of the king, mi-"nistry *, and parliament." He then gives a long history of supposed evasions under the terms *in, into, to*, and *from* †, for the purpose of suggesting his own ingenious doubt, whether *the parliament of* Great Britain can restrain the trade of a *British subject*, or authorize other subjects to seize his person, whenever he contravenes such commands?

The cases of persons seized and sent to Europe, printed by Mr. Bolts in his Appendix, relate to officers, all of whom were engaged in the mutiny, while some superadded the guilt of supporting rival interests to the attempt of destroying the British power in Bengal. These relations are drawn by no friend of the measure; yet, when stripped of their pompous phrase and unmeaning invective, the whole will amount to this, that men, not personally known to the gentlemen in council, of a profession whose interests could not clash, were sent to Europe, because their residence in Bengal was esteemed dangerous to the company. Doubts respecting the legal extent of their power, made the governor and council cautious in the mode of securing the persons of these officers, and enabled them to hold their house as a garrison for some few days. It appears, moreover, that one of them, as soon as he promised to proceed for Europe, was permitted to quit the ship on which he first embarked. From this fact we may judge, how far their own obstinacy, in resisting the order of council, contributed to any hardships they might suffer. The messages which passed between the prisoners and justices of peace are set forth by Mr. Bolts at large ‡. The justices,

* Page 141. † Page 142. ‡ Appendix to Considerations, p. 93, 94, 95.

no great lawyers, were of opinion, that the complaint was not within their jurisdiction. Common ſenſe muſt diſcover, that a power of ſeizing Britiſh ſubjects for the purpoſe of ſending them to England muſt fall to the ground, if magiſtrates, having a merely local authority, ſhould preſume to releaſe them. If the crown, in time of danger, are empowered to confine ſuſpected perſons, would our ſages of the law diſcharge the priſoners? Yet in this country the courſe of juſtice is tolerably free.

Among the arts uſed by Mr. Bolts to inflame, he never forgets to mention the military as perſons employed upon all occaſions. The reader therefore ſhould here be informed, that throughout all the nations of India, the orders even of courts of juſtice are executed by military men. The colour of a man's coat, or the uniform he wears, does not prove him a more noxious creature, than if, an emblem of innocence, he were arrayed in white. The nature of the Engliſh conſtitution makes us jealous of the executive magiſtrate. A frequent uſe of the military, who are immediately under his command, in *domeſtic government* might be dangerous to public liberty; and hence ariſes that honeſt prejudice of our countrymen, which the author of Conſiderations perpetually abuſes to moſt unworthy purpoſes.

In page 144, Mr. Bolts, ſtill declaiming againſt tranſportation, has this paſſage: "But there is a direct, unconſtitutional uſe to be made "of ſuch power, which is, *as we have ſeen*, that of employing it "to puniſh men for doing their duty, even in courts of juſtice. "They may diſoblige men in power by refuſing to be pliant judges, if "in the mayor's court; or pliant jurors, if impannelled as jurymen at "ſeſſions; and may be therefore puniſhed with ruin in revenge for their "honeſt diſcharge of the firſt ſocial duty." Have ſuch caſes ever exiſted? Has ſuch an unconſtitutional uſe been ever made of this power? There never has, nor ever can, while law or juſtice has its reſidence in Great Britain. Suppoſing the power to be legal, thoſe exerciſing the authority are anſwerable for its abuſe. To prefer a criminal charge to the proper judges, is the *legal right*, nay the *duty*, of each individual citizen. But ſhould this power be wantonly abuſed, the experience of every day evinces, that an innocent and injured man would obtain ample compen-

ſation from an Engliſh jury. What more could be done to prevent oppreſſion, if parliament ſhould annul this power heretofore given to the company? In this country all public rights, whether in the hands of the magiſtrate or of private perſons, are a ſacred truſt. To abuſe theſe in the execution, is criminal according to our laws; and a ſiniſter motive will contaminate an act, which could not otherwiſe be queſtioned. Governors who ſhould conduct themſelves by the principles ſuggeſted by Mr. Bolts, would not only be compelled to make full reſtitution to the injured individual, but would, by their puniſhment, become ſevere examples to prevent the commiſſion of like crimes in future.

The reaſoning of our author is perpetually in extreme. Here he wiſhes the abolition of a power becauſe the imagination may ſuggeſt *poſſible* abuſes, which abuſes are effectually corrected as the law now ſtands. Two pages further he would deſtroy the ſame power as *unneceſſary*, becauſe it is the intereſt of all men to be honeſt *. "No inhabitants of "their ſettlements can commit any crime to endanger the ſecurity of the "company but what muſt equally endanger the ſafety of each individual "member of the community, they being inſeparably connected together." Is not this equally true of every other ſtate and its ſubjects? Wherefore then is high treaſon puniſhed? Why are murderers proſcribed in every country? Why have we regarded great legiſlators as benefactors to mankind? Such is the moral harmony eſtabliſhed by the Creator, that public duty will ever continue to be the ſame with private intereſt well underſtood. But do men never err? Shall we proceed upon ſuch a foundation to aboliſh all laws and all magiſtrates? I know not which moſt to admire, the head or heart of our author.

Mr. Bolts himſelf obſerves upon another occaſion, p. 144, "not diſ"puting here what the conſtitutional rights of Engliſhmen formerly were, "or now are, within or without the immediate ſettlements of the com"pany, that there is always ſuppoſed to be a mutual convenience or ad"vantage in all ſuch engagements, and that honour ſhould regulate either "party in their conduct." Let honour be the criterion. Let each in his ſeveral ſtation abide by its judgments. Should any private man, taking ad-

* Page 147, Conſiderations.

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vantage of an unſettled government, oppreſs and harraſs the harmleſs natives of Bengal, and endeavour to ſhelter himſelf under the letter of laws, calculated for a very different ſtate of ſociety; let the miſcreant be puniſhed as his crimes deſerve, by a removal from the ſcene of his ravages, by the contempt and deteſtation of every honeſt mind. Should, on the contrary, power be wantonly abuſed, to ſerve the purpoſes of malignant paſſion, or governors, forgetful of Mr. Bolts's precepts, neglect their public duty for a *ſuppoſed* private intereſt, an Engliſh jury will eagerly redreſs their fellow-citizen, and vindicate the rights of human kind.

It were endleſs to purſue Mr. Bolts through all his chaos of invective. To do juſtice to his performance, would be to comment on every line. Some paſſages, however, may be ſelected, without ſwelling this Introduction to an unreaſonable ſize, ſufficient, perhaps, to convince the reader, that the Book called "Conſiderations on India Affairs," will convey as much real information reſpecting the affairs of China, as thoſe of Bengal.

The author is as well verſed in the law of nations as qualified for the domeſtic government of a particular ſtate. What concern has Great Britain in the claims of a Mogul? Engliſhmen ſhould adhere to engagements taken on the part of their own nation; but it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe they muſt enter into the diſputes between prince Ally Gohar, and the ſubahdar of Bengal, or between them again and their reſpective ſubjects. Yet the miſrepreſentations of two chapters are chiefly founded on this abſurd opinion; and the high ſounding titles of eaſtern grandeur are introduced to give the whole a greater air of burleſque.

What contradiction is there in reſiſting prince Ally Gohar, when invading the dominions of our ally; and ſupporting the ſame man with our arms, when new treaties had been formed with him? Mr. Bolts, p. 25, quotes two paſſages from Mr. Scrafton to prove that, upon the invaſion of Bengal by our preſent Mogul, colonel Clive, at the requeſt of Meer Jaffier, marched to puniſh thoſe rajahs "who had dared to join him *." It appears from theſe extracts, that the colonel ſtrictly adhered to his engagements,

* Mr. Bolts has miſ-quoted this paſſage from Mr. Scrafton, whoſe words are, in p. 117. "All our affairs being ſo happily circumſtanced, colonel Clive, at the ſubah's requeſt, marched "to puniſh thoſe rajahs *who had joined the Shahzada*."

com-

communicating the letters received to the nabob's ſon and miniſters, who judged that "it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in "any of the provinces." Mr. Bolts ſeems better pleaſed with the conduct of Mr. * Holwell, who, in the ſame war, correſponded with the enemy, concealing the letters ("offering a carte blanche to the company") from our ally Meer Jaffier. It ſeems that theſe engagements with the ſubahdar were not, in our author's opinion, to be regarded; for he affirms, that Sujah Cawn was the laſt † lawful nabob of Bengal.

Mr. Bolts then relates the revolutions preceding the capture of Calcutta by Surajah al Dowlah, to retake which place colonel Clive was ſent from the coaſt of Coromandel in the year 1756. But in doing this he conveys a very unjuſt imputation. He tells us that the treaty with Serajah al Dowlah was "ſolemnly ‡ ratified in the ſtrongeſt manner, the nabob "ſwearing on the Koran by God and Mahomed, and the colonel pledging "the names of God and our Saviour, faithfully to obſerve the ſame. "Neceſſity, which, in *politics*, uſually ſuperſedes all oaths, treaties, or "forms whatſoever, induced the Engliſh Eaſt India company's repre- "ſentatives, about *three months* after the execution of the former treaty, to "determine, "*by the bleſſing of God*," upon diſpoſſeſſing the nabob Serajah "al Dowlah of his Nizamut, and giving it to another." In the next paragraph, to throw a greater odium upon the meaſure, Mr. Bolts ſpeaks of "the traffick in nabobſhips,"—"the bold and traiterous diſpoſition of "Meer Jaffier,"—"and of another rebel candidate." Who would imagine, from this relation, that the conduct of the Engliſh was perfectly conſiſtent with the law of nations? Yet ſuch it will manifeſtly appear.

Mr. Bolts forgot to mention, that after the concluſion of the firſt treaty, Serajah al Dowlah not only evaded fulfilling his engagements §, but me-

* This gentleman was governor after the departure of colonel Clive, in February 1768. See Hiſtory, in firſt chapter.

† Conſiderations, p. 38. where Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative is referred to, Vol. I. p. 5. as if that gentleman had ſaid, "that Sujah Cawn was the laſt lawful nabob of Bengal," whereas Mr Vanſittart expreſſes no ſuch opinion.

‡ Conſiderations, fol. 39.

§ To reſtore the Engliſh effects, and give poſſeſſion of the twenty-four pergunnahs, or villages, which by the treaty he had ceded. Immediately after the treaty with Serajah al Dowlah

dictated our destruction. He negotiated with * Monsieur Bussey, to introduce into Bengal a body of French troops, (the two nations being then at war) for the express † purpose of acting against the English. A just self-defence, therefore, required, that some measures should be taken on our part, before the ships and forces left the river. Reinforced from the fleet, our army, amounting to 1000 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys, stood opposed to 20,000 horse, and 50,000 foot. In this situation, it was judged expedient to secure some of those chiefs in our interest, whom the nabob's violence had disgusted; and Meer Jaffier, being the most powerful, was chosen as a proper ally.

The malice of Mr. Bolts does not rest here. He represents this revolution as an enterprize of no difficulty. Speaking of the battle of Plassey ‡, he says, "Happy it was for the company that this numerous army "made so little resistance, that, according to Mr. Scrafton, there were only "*seventy men killed and wounded.*" The nabob not only had a numerous army, but likewise the assistance of French officers, and one hundred European soldiers. The advice, received from Meer Jaffier, contained nothing but excuses for not acting, and to the last hour we obtained no support from this leader, who commanded ten thousand men. At the same time intelligence was received through another channel "that the "whole affair had been discovered by the nabob, and that he and Meer "Jaffier were one." This embarrassing situation gave rise to a council of war, at which a large majority declared against an immediate attack.

lah in Feb. 1757, Mr. Verelst was appointed to take charge of the company's factory at Luckypore, and receive from the officers of the government the effects that had been taken from that place. On his passage from Calcutta to Luckypore with Mr. Middleton (a gentleman now in the council at Bengal) in the month of April 1757; they were attacked and taken prisoners by a body of the nabob's troops. The commanding officer produced the nabob's orders not to suffer, on any account whatever, any Europeans to pass and repass in the country, particularly the English. He also produced letters, pointing out the gentlemen, nominated to take charge of the factories, to be particularly within such orders. He moreover declared, that the treaty would not be regarded on the part of the nabob, and that we should soon again experience the strength of his arm. The battle of Plassey happened on the 20th of June following.

* Commander of the French army in the Deccan.

† This appeared not only from unquestionable information received at the time, but was further confirmed by the nabob's papers.

‡ Considerations, fol. 40.

After a deliberation of twenty-four hours, colonel Clive refolved to perfevere, and the army, contrary to the determination of the council of war, was ordered to march. The event fhewed his judgment to have been well founded. Our negotiations in the nabob's camp had already decided the conteft. We learn from Mr. Scrafton, that on the day of the battle " a body of about fifty French advanced in front of the reft, their of- " ficer calling out in vain for fome of the Subahdar's troops to follow " him ; for fuch was their miftruft of each other, that no commander " dared to venture on fingly, for fear fome other commander, fufpected " of attachment to us, fhould fall on him." Among many other fortunate accidents, Meer Modun, the beft and moft faithful of the Subahdar's officers, was killed in the beginning of the action, and his death greatly contributed to the eafy victory gained by the Englifh army.

The fubfequent events are fufficiently explained in the firft chapter of this work. During Meer Jaffier's government, prince Ally Gohar (the prefent Mogul) invading the provinces of Bengal, was repulfed by the Englifh under colonel Clive, acting as allies to the Subahdar. At this time were written the letters, mentioned by Mr. Bolts, to thofe rebellious rajahs " *who had dared to join him* *," the open enemy of Meer Jaffier. The fuppofed contradiction is, that when lord Clive, upon his laft arrival in India, found other engagements taken refpecting *other* countries, he concurred with the felect committee in adhering likewife to thefe new engagements. The Mogul did not indeed obtain the whole dominions of Oude, which a former council had † agreed to give him before they had conquered the country. But he did obtain the countries of Korah and Illahabad, his poffeffion being ‡ guarantied by the Englifh. To thefe likewife was added an annual payment of twenty-fix lacks from Bengal. The expediency of reftoring to Sujah al Dowlah the other territories of Oude, will be evinced in the hiftorical part of this book. Mr. Bolts, fpeaking of this reftoration, fays, p. 30. " againft the wealth of this na- " bob, as Mr. Dow very juftly obferves, the virtue of fome of our re-

* Confiderations, fol. 25. Mr. Bolts has made a falfe quotation from Mr. Scrafton.

† Appendix, p. 163. No. 51. B.

‡ Appendix, p. 171. No. 58.

" volutionifts

"volutionifts was by no means proof." Within three pages he reprefents the *fame* men upon the *fame occafion*, as taking bribes from this Mogul, whofe interefts they are fuppofed to have facrificed to Sujah al Dowlah. "Amidft all his misfortunes, this prince has given feveral in-"ftances of great generofity, particularly to the members of the fecret "committee, for their diftinguifhed merit and difinterefted fervices. One "inftance may be feen in lord Clive's letter to the court of directors, of "the 30th of September 1765, where it appears his imperial majefty "had prefented general Carnac with two lacks of rupees." This laft mentioned fact, which is fuppofed to be conclufive evidence of corruption, candidly told, will afford an oppofite inference. General Carnac, who had commanded the company's forces with great reputation, and withftood many temptations of pecuniary emolument, had an offer of two lacks from the Mogul. The Mogul wrote to the council upon the fubject, and lord Clive mentioned his letter, with its occafion, to the court of directors for their judgment. When a man wantonly ftabs the characters of thofe whofe actions engage the public attention, it will require more underftanding than Mr. Bolts poffeffes, to make falfe affertions wear the face of probability*.

* "Another inftance of the generofity of the Mogul, Mr. Bolts fays, was given in the year "1767, when his majefty likewife prefented colonel Richard Smith with two lacks more; as "appears from the following minute of the council at Calcutta.

"At a confultation held the 14th of September 1767, prefent, Harry Verelft, efq. prefident, "John Cartier, Richard Becher, James Alexander, William Alderfey, Charles Ffloyer, and "Alexander Campbell, efqrs.

"Received a letter from Col. Richard Smith at Illah-abad, dated the 20th of July, on the "fubject of the two lacks of rupees, he requefted their permiffion to receive as a gratuity from "the king; offering feveral arguments to our confideration, and acquainting us with his ma-"jefty's abfolute refufal to take back the teep ‡ he had granted; therefore enclofing it for us to "difpofe of as might feem moft equitable."

Mr. Bolts has fuppreffed the refolution of the prefident and council, which immediately follows his quotation. "Agreed, we acknowledge the receipt of the colonel's letter, with the teep "inclofed, informing him that, as his majefty has fo abfolutely refufed to take back the note for "the two lacks, we fhall keep it in our hands till the pleafure of the court of directors can be "known." At the fame time obferving, "that our fentiments on the occafion are ftill the fame "as mentioned in our former letter to him on the fubject." Thefe fentiments condemning all prefents "as manifeftly contrary to the will of their employers," were expreffed in the abovementioned letter to colonel Smith, but more fully in one to the king; "That we," (the pre-

‡ A promiffory note, here an order of payment for money.

Is it neceſſary here to enter on the ſubject of the Dewanny, " a hard " name, well * calculated for a blind to amuſe the Britiſh legiſlature ?" Mr. Bolts does not chuſe " to inveſtigate in this place all the private " reaſons which occaſioned this Dewanny being aſſumed by lord Clive " and his ſelect committee †." Why not? If Mr. Bolts knows any *private* reaſons, ſhould this virtuous zealot ſuppreſs them? If he knows none, how baſe the imputation! A plain ‡ narrative will ſuggeſt the public reaſons for this meaſure, and ſhew the neceſſity of uniting to the military power the means of ſupporting it. Indeed the frequent diſtreſſes of our army, from the irregular payment of the monthly ſums ſtipulated for its ſubſiſtence, muſt have opened the eyes of the blind; but a former council thought it more expedient to leave two millions of annual revenue in the hands of a diſarmed and defenceleſs nabob. The idea of Mr. Bolts, that the hard word Dewanny was intended to amuſe the Britiſh legiſlature, is too ridiculous to deſerve a refutation; but it may be worth remarking, that the ſyſtem called in deriſion the DOUBLE GOVERNMENT, had been eſtabliſhed by the ſame council in their treaty of February, 1765 §. This, in truth, was neceſſarily derived from that train of events which led an aſſociated dependent body of Britiſh ſubjects to the acquiſition of empire. And Bengal being, through this medium, united with England, the legiſlature of this country can alone eſtabliſh a government different from that which at preſent exiſts.

It is impoſſible to diſmiſs the preſent ſubject without ſome obſervations on the comparative advantages of the two treaties, as ſtated by Mr. Bolts, p. 52. He firſt aſſumes, as a permanent revenue, the five lacks per month from the nabob, which, by the terms of the treaty, were to be

ſident and council) " earneſtly wiſhed our attachment might appear to the world more connected " by *honour*, than by any *intereſted tye*; that it was moſt glorious for him, and moſt reputable " for ourſelves, to have a friendſhip founded on ſuch a baſis; that we could not conſent to the " colonel's acceptance of his preſent without the approbation of the court of directors; and " that we muſt requeſt, that he would not, in future, confer ſuch donations on any of the Eng- " liſh chiefs." Such was the ſubſtance of this letter, as it appears in the public records of 20th July, 1767. The court of directors refuſed their permiſſion, and the teep was referred to the king. His majeſty's receipt was immediately depoſited among the records at Bengal.

* Conſiderations, p. 33. † Conſiderations, p. 35.

‡ See our firſt Chapter. § Appendix, p. 164. No. 52.

only

only paid during the war with Sujah al Dowlah *. He eſtimates likewiſe the zemindary of Bulwant Sing at forty-five lacks, from which the company received, while in poſſeſſion, only twenty lacks, as the nabob of Oude had done before them. If this revenue was ſo extremely improveable, why did not Mr. Bolts, a company's ſervant reſident upon the ſpot, one intruſted with the management, intimate his opinion to the council?

The eſtimate of Mr. Bolts is mentioned merely for the purpoſe of ſhewing his diſpoſition to miſlead. The ſituation of the zemindary of Bulwant Sing would have made it a burthen, and not an advantage, to the company, as the reader will fully underſtand in his further progreſs.

It would fatigue the moſt patient attention to follow Mr. Bolts through all his miſrepreſentations, very liberally ſcattered in every page of his book. From the few inſtances here given of his candor, the reader will judge of the credit due to his " Conſiderations on India Affairs." It will neverthe leſs be proper to take notice of thoſe parts, in which he blends ſome particular charges with much general invective. After this, the reader would ſcarcely pardon the omiſſion, were I not to introduce this ſturdy champion to his more intimate acquaintance.

Mr. Bolts begins his ninth chapter with a ſwelling panegyric upon the upright adminiſtration of juſtice, with the conſequent encreaſe of induſtry, population, and commerce. He then very piouſly proceeds to blacken the characters of all concerned in the government, police, and adminiſtration of juſtice in Bengal. According to his repreſentation, the governor and council are cruel tyrants, the courts of juſtice are become engines of oppreſſion, and the judges, ſervilely complaiſant to the ruling power, are no longer the guardians of public or of private rights.

Should a diſcontented man collect facts for the purpoſe of miſrepreſentation? Should many circumſtances be ſuppreſſed to give a falſe colouring to others? Should a work of this kind be given to the world, when

* Appendix, p. 162, No. 50.

many

many perfons concerned in thefe tranfactions, are at the diftance of half the globe; and when many now in England, not confcious of mifconduct, had neglected to preferve authentic vouchers, refpecting ordinary occurrences, amidft an infinite multiplicity of affairs; it will not be expected that I fhould follow fuch a writer through all his filth, induftrioufly collected. Should it however appear, that not the flighteft imputation can arife, unlefs to Mr. Bolts himfelf, from thofe relations of "real facts" which make the moft formidable appearance in his book, no one will think the requeft very unreafonable, if he be defired to fufpend at leaft his belief in thofe particulars, where fufficient documents cannot be immediately procured.

The cafe of Parfeek Arratoon, an Armenian merchant*, has been felected for the purpofe of proving the entire and fubmiffive dependence of the mayor's court; how ready the judges were to obey the nod of a governor. Had the whole truth appeared, the reader muft have drawn an inference directly contrary to the conclufion of Mr. Bolts. To give a colour to his charge, he reprefents Mr. Verelft and his partners as defirous of engroffing all the falt in that part of the country. The contrary is notorioufly true. Hundreds of others dealt in falt, and this very parcel was foon refold at a profit of two thoufand pounds. Yet thefe gentlemen, by an intemperate decifion of the mayor's court, hearing only the evidence of one party, are compelled to pay 7000 l. more than they themfelves had received.

Mr. Verelft, upon entering into the more immediate charge of public affairs as governor, found it neceffary to remit the care of his private affairs to others, and this, in particular, was entirely under the management of Mr. Lewis, who had an equal intereft † therein. The agents of Mr. Lewis bought a quantity of falt at Nattoor of fome black merchants, whofe property it appeared to be. A difpute arofe refpecting the delivery, in which poffibly fome violence was ufed by both parties. The

* Confiderations, p. 91.
† As joint partner with Mr. Sykes and Mr. Verelft.

affair,

affair, however, came before the cutcherry, where, "according to the "general practice of the court, when not unduly interrupted, to have every "cause determined by arbitrators, or umpires, chosen by the * parties," this matter was referred to five principal merchants, who gave their award in favour of the purchaser, declaring the contract "a fair and legal bargain." Mr. Bolts asserts, that "the Armenian, sensible that the price of salt "would rise, ordered his gomastah to fasten up the warehouse, and not "to sell †." The Armenian was so far from this disposition, that his gomastah had before been with Mr. Sykes, offering the salt to sale. He engaged to deliver it within a fortnight, and accepted part of the price in the presence of witnesses. A few days after, he applied to Mr. Sykes, and, by intreaties, prevailed upon him to relinquish the bargain. The same salt was then sold to the agents of Mr. Lewis for a larger sum. It is demonstrable that the full market price was here given, because many parcels of salt were bought of European gentlemen, particularly of ‡ Mr. Marriott, then in council, about the same time, at a greater distance from the place of manufacture, and at a price somewhat lower. Thus the transaction stands above all possible imputation, because no injustice could have been committed against European gentlemen, and the Armenian merchant had a yet better bargain. But the value of the commodity still rising in the market, the gomastah of Parseek Arratoon again desired to evade the delivery, upon which the reference above-mentioned took place, and an award was made in favour of the purchaser.

The award being made, Coja Parseek Arratoon then appeared, and claiming a property in the salt, which he alledged to have been forcibly taken from his gomastahs, filed his bill in the mayor's court at Calcutta, to which Mr. Lewis § gave a full answer upon oath, denying every part of the charge. But before the witnesses could come from Nattoor, the plaintiff had brought the cause to a hearing upon *ex parte* depositions. Mr. Verelst, thinking his character as well as property affected by this

* Considerations, p. 80. † Ibid. p. 185.
‡ This gentleman is now in England. § This Gentleman is likewise in England.

pro-

proceeding, wrote a note * to the mayor, praying to be indulged with a proper time to produce his evidence; at the ſame time acquainting him, that the court would probably be no more troubled with the ſuit, as Petruſe Arratoon (who afterwards became executor to Parſeek Arratoon, and at this time tranſacted his buſineſs) had propoſed to refer their diſpute to arbitration. So little was Mr. Verelſt inclined to take any advantage, that although one award had been already made, Petruſe Arratoon did *himſelf*, at the requeſt of Mr. Verelſt, chooſe the arbitrators, and named Thomas Cooke and Joſeph Price for a ſecond reference. In the mean time, bonds were drawn and executed by ſome of the parties; but Petrus Arratoon, diſtruſting probably the juſtice of his cauſe, wanted to inſert as a condition that *his witneſſes only* ſhould be heard. To comply with his demand was impoſſible. It was difficult to conceive the ſource of ſuch a requeſt, until his ſubſequent conduct explained the myſtery. Thinking he had obtained an advantage by ſome irregularity in the examiner of the court, who had taken the depoſitions on the part of the defendant, he relinquiſhed his former engagement, and urged the cauſe to a deciſion. A petition was preſented on the part of Mr. Verelſt and his partners, praying that the error might be corrected, and the witneſſes again brought to Calcutta at their expence †. Yet the mayor and aldermen refuſed to comply with this very reaſonable requeſt, and proceeded to a decree upon the evidence ſolely of the plaintiff. Thus theſe gentlemen are now compelled to pay 7000 l. more than the ſum for which they themſelves reſold the ſalt. Here, moſt certainly, no favour was ſhewn; perhaps the reader may think that the rules of the court were ſtrained even to the verge of injuſtice.

The author of Conſiderations, not contented with this happy inſtance of domineering power, produces another extraordinary caſe of Mr. Alexander Jephſon ‡, where the governor and council *refuſed to interfere* with

* At the ſame time Mr. Verelſt's attorney at law (Mr. Whittal) prepared a petition to the court. Appendix, p. 174. No. 61.

† Appendix, p. 175. No. 62.

‡ Appendix to Conſiderations, p. 43. No. 26.

with the courts of juſtice. Mr. Bolts has given us full proof, viz. the memorial of an angry man to the court of directors. The greater part of this ſtory is ſuch, that I, with Mr. De Grey *, "know not how to believe the parties, concerned in tranſacting it, would admit it to be "true." The attorney-general was certainly right, in thinking that "ſeveral of the decrees *as ſtated* are erroneous, and might be appealed "from †;" but it remained for Mr. ‡ Sayer to diſcover, that a letter to the governor and council, complaining of an illegal arreſt, without ſtating the proceedings or decree of the court, was *an actual appeal*; or that it could be criminal for the governor and council to acquaint Mr. Jephſon, in reply to his letter, that nothing but decrees regularly appealed, are cognizable by them. Perhaps, in this inſtance, they were better lawyers than Mr. Sayer. Be this as it may, the caſe is here mentioned only for the purpoſe of ſhewing that the governor and council are not forward to interfere irregularly, or arrogate a ſuperiority over the mayor's court at Calcutta. If Mr. Jephſon, inſtead of appealing, choſe to reſiſt or fly from the officers of juſtice, the governor and council acted with equal propriety in directing the commanders of the company's ſhips not to countenance ſuch an attempt, or receive Mr. Jephſon on board.

Mr. Bolts, in his Conſiderations, page 95, ſays, a tradeſman and inhabitant of Calcutta, named Gocul Sonar, "preferred his complaint" againſt one Nobekiſſen, "at the court of the general quarter ſeſſions "held at Calcutta on the 4th of March 1767, in a petition to the grand "jury, but without any ſucceſs; for it was remarkable that the chief juſtice, Harry Verelſt, eſq. then on the bench, getting the petition "into his own hands from another juſtice, to whom the former had delivered it, he immediately and ſuddenly called and diſmiſſed the juries."

On the 4th of March, Gocul Sonar did preſent his petition to the grand jury. When the petition was delivered into court, it became the duty of the juſtices to decide whether they had authority to hear the cauſe.

* See his opinion, Appendix to Conſiderations, p. 54. † See the ſame opinion.
‡ See Mr. Sayer's opinion, Appendix to Conſiderations, p. 53.

Upon deliberation they were all unanimoufly of opinion, that a criminal charge between the natives only, did not belong to the jurifdiction of the feffions; and accordingly referred the complaint to the court of zemindary, before whom it was afterwards heard and determined.

Without examining whether it was originally the intention of his majefty to fubject the natives, refiding within our diftricts, to the criminal laws of Great Britain, it will be fufficient for the prefent occafion to fhew, that the charter of juftice will bear the conftruction here given to it, and that the juftices were led by confiderations of duty and humanity to adopt this interpretation.

In civil matters, the charter contains an exception of fuits between natives only, unlefs both parties fhall fubmit the fame to the determination of the mayor's court. And although this charter, granted the 26th of George II. at a time when we were wholly dependent upon the country government, is filent refpecting criminal matters, it was difficult for the gentlemen to believe that the lives of the natives fhould be lefs regarded than their property, or that juftice could authorize a trial by laws which the criminal could not poffibly underftand.

In the year 1762, a native detected one of his women in an act of infidelity. Throughout the Eaft, women are wholly fubject to the will of their mafters, and every hufband is the avenger of his own wrongs. The man therefore, fatisfied of her guilt, proceeded to punifhment, by cutting off her nofe. He was arraigned at the Calcutta feffions. He confeffed the fact, but urged that he had done nothing to offend the laws and cuftoms in which he had been educated. That the woman was his property; and that, by fuch cuftoms, he had a right to fet a mark upon her for her infamy. That he had never heard of the laws by which they tried him, but defired to put one queftion to the bench: Did they believe that if he had known the punifhment to be death, he would ever have committed what they now called a crime? The man, notwithftanding this defence, was condemned and hanged; for if the court poffefs jurifdiction, they muft proceed according to the Englifh laws.

Thus

Thus an act of parliament, which took its rife from an injury done to an Englifh * gentleman, may violate the fecret receffes of the haram, and a man of the firft rank, character, and fortune, may fuffer a moft ignominious † death, for an act which he is taught to believe undeferving cenfure. The charge may be fupported by the teftimony of flaves, or even of the guilty woman. By this rule of evidence, thofe ties of domeftic fubjection are broken, which a perfection of civil polity (unknown in Afia) can alone properly relax. Manners here fupply the defect of laws. If the latter are not fufficiently perfect to become an object of men's affections, they attach themfelves more ftrongly to the former; nor can we imagine the cuftoms relating to domeftic government, leaft facred in their eyes, fince thefe the continued habits of the individual, the laws and religion of the nation equally confpire to uphold.

This fubject is more largely treated in the laft part of the prefent work. Let it therefore fuffice here to obferve, that the very few inftances of punifhment inflicted by our courts, had fpread a general alarm, and produced in the year 1765, a petition to the governor and council, figned by the native inhabitants of Calcutta, praying, that they might not be fubjected to laws which to them were wholly unknown ‡.

Actuated therefore by honeft motives, the juftices unanimoufly referred the complaint of Gocul Sonar to the court of zemindar, and the bufinefs of the feffions being finifhed, the juries were called and difmiffed. In this cafe, it would have been peculiarly improper for the feffions to have proceeded becaufe the accufation related to the exercife of judicial authority in the caft cutcherry by Nobekiffen, affifted by the minifters of their religion §.

* Sir John Coventry, in the time of Charles II.

† The ancient moguls and nabobs would not permit any of the profeffors of Iflam to be hanged according to the Englifh cuftom, efteeming that too ignominious a death for a Mahomedan to fuffer. Confiderations, p. 81.

‡ See this petition, Appendix, p. 177. No. 63.

§ All nations have their courts of ecclefiaftical jurifdiction diftinct from the adminiftration of civil juftice, in fome with a more limited, in others with more extenfive authority. The followers of Brama in Bengal have their caft-cutcherries, or courts to take cognizance of all matters relative to the feveral cafts, or tribes of the Hindoo religion. Their religious purity de-

It will be now neceſſary to follow Gocul Sonar, and his patron Mr. Bolts, to the court of the zemindar; but firſt it may be proper to acquaint the reader who this Nobkiſſen was, and whence aroſe the complaint againſt him.

Nobekiſſen is a native Hindoo, who had been extremely zealous in the Engliſh cauſe during the troubles preceding Meer Jaffier's elevation to the ſubahdarry. When the war broke out with Meer Coſſim, he attended major Adams, and continued with that commander till the ſubhadar was driven out of the provinces. His addreſs, and attachment to the Engliſh, recommended him to lord Clive, who made him banyan to the committee, in which office he continued the three years likewiſe of Mr. Verelſt's government *.

This man having charge of the caſt cutcherry, one Ram, a goldſmith, complained, that his mother and brother-in-law forcibly with-held his wife from him in their houſe, and not only refuſed him admittance to ſee her, but permitted another man to viſit her, which, if known, might endanger the loſs of his caſt. The perſons were ſent for, and the affair compromiſed to the apparent ſatisfaction of all parties. About twenty days afterwards, this was made the ſubject of an accuſation againſt Nobekiſſen; and that the crime might be capital by the Engliſh law, the witneſſes readily ſwore † to a fact, of which, if true, they could have no know-

pends on the conſtant obſervance of ſuch numberleſs precepts, that the authority of theſe courts enters into the concerns of common life, and is, conſequently, very extenſive. A degradation from the caſt, by their ſentence, is a ſpecies of excommunication, attended with the moſt dreadful effects, rendering the offender an outcaſt from ſociety. But as the weight of the puniſhment depends merely upon the opinion of the people, it is unneceſſary to ſay that it cannot be inflicted by the Engliſh governor (as Mr. Bolts aſſerts, p. 83.) unleſs the mandate of a governor could inſtantly change the religious ſentiments of a nation. Neither can a man once degraded be reſtored, but by the general ſuffrage of his own tribe, the ſanction of the Bramins, (who are the head tribe) and the ſuperadded concurrence of the ſupreme civil power. See the laſt ſection of Mr. Verelſt's Inſtructions to the ſupraviſors, an article in the Appendix.

* Mr. Bolts is miſtaken when he aſſerts that Nobekiſſen wa banyan to the governor. This nomination only implied his being an agent for the committee in political tranſactions with the country powers.

† They ſwore that their ſiſter was carried away and violated, although, according to their own relation, they were abſent when ſhe is ſuppoſed to have been taken away.

ledge,

ledge, the fubfequent rape of their fifter. The juftices in quarter-feffions referred the complaint to the court of the zemindar. Mr. Bolts attending, a paper, which he declared himfelf to have tranflated, was produced, and delivered as the depofition of Gocul Sonar. Mr. Bolts was defirous that Kifno Sonar, the brother, fhould fwear generally to the truth of the written paper; but this compendious method of giving teftimony, not meeting with the approbation of Mr. Ffloyer * the zemindar, the witnefs was compelled to fubmit to an examination, in which he materially differed from his brother. Several witneffes were likewife examined on the part of the accufed, and proved the relation before given of the affair, intirely to the fatisfaction of Mr. Ffloyer, "who reported, as his opinion, "that it was an accufation malicioufly invented to depreciate the character of Nobekiffen, there not being a fingle circumftance in the depofitions that can create a fufpicion of his having had the informant's fifter at his houfe †."

Mr. Bolts muft excufe me if I cannot believe that the information, which he has given the public in his Confiderations, page 96, dated the 20th of May, 1767, was ever fubfcribed by Mr. Ffloyer; becaufe Mr. Ffloyer mentioned his error the next day to Mr. Verelft, who was abfent from Calcutta fome weeks before the 20th of May, and did not return till long after. Mr. Ffloyer, in his minute publifhed by Mr. Bolts ‡, written fome months after the tranfaction, fays, "thefe were depofitions taken before him, fitting as zemindar, in confequence of the reference from the quarter feffions," and his report of that trial is dated the 17th of March, thirteen days after the petition to the grand jury. For the truth of his affertion he refers § to the records and officers of the court, "who were the only perfons made ufe of by him during the whole courfe of the enquiry." Had Mr. Ffloyer afferted a falfehood, the means of detection were abundant. The miftake therefore muft have

* A gentleman now in England.

† See his report, Appendix, p. 182. in which Mr. Ffloyer refers to the depofitions, in fupport of his opinion.

‡ Confiderations, p. 98. in a note at the bottom.

§ Mr. Ffloyer was moft probably, at this time, no longer zemindar, others fucceeding in turn.

been

been made long before, and it will ſcarce be thought probable the ſame ſhould be repeated on the 20th of May. Mr. Bolts, in copying the minute, has not given us the month in which the error is ſaid to have been committed, and would have the reader infer, that the minute relates to his information of the 20th of May, though the contrary (the ſtory being fairly told) is apparent from every line.

This was not the ſingle attempt made againſt the life of Nobekiſſen. A bramin was prevailed upon, by promiſes of money, to charge him with violating his wife, "to add (as the parties expreſs themſelves) a link to "the chain." They proceeded even to threaten the life of the woman, who, declaring ſhe never would ruin an innocent perſon, revealed the deſign to Nobekiſſen. The truth of this infamous tranſaction was evinced by the confeſſions of the bramin, and one of the ſeducers, Ramſonar Goſe, by the teſtimony of the wife, and of two other witneſſes.

To underſtand the affair of Ramnaut it will be neceſſary to direct the reader's attention to what paſſed previous to this man's complaint, which Mr. Bolts thinks "foreign to his purpoſe to relate." The oppreſſions committed by thoſe who took upon themſelves the character of Engliſh agents, are, in other parts of this work, ſufficiently explained. The timidity of the public officers, and incapacity of the country government to repreſs this growing evil, had compelled the governor and council, on various occaſions, to make the abuſe of Engliſh influence the ſubject of their enquiries. The neceſſity of their interference cannot be better evinced, than by informing the reader that it was not uncommon for many, particularly the Armenians, to call themſelves the gomaſtahs or agents of Engliſh gentlemen, without any authority from their ſuppoſed principal; and ſuch was the dread of our power, that even the neighbouring princes would rarely venture to check the diſorders hereby occaſioned, without firſt making application to our government.

The reader who will carry in his mind the diſtinction ariſing between the Engliſh agent and the native, from the want of a controuling power over the former, will readily conceive the nature of that *fair*, *open*, and un-

unrestrained trade, in favour of which Mr. Bolts so vehemently declaims; and also of those numberless oppressions, groaning under which Mr. Bolts accumulated, in the space of six years, a larger fortune * than many gentlemen who have resided twenty years in India, and filled the highest stations in the company's service.

It was a great point of policy among all concerned in this unrestrained trade, to deter the governor and council from animadverting upon the conduct of their agents, particularly within the province of Bengal, where the debility of the country government opened still fairer prospects of advantage. Mr. Bolts, upon these occasions, distinguished himself as the great leader of sedition, and no sooner was Ramnaut proved to have committed more than ordinary violence, than he became this gentleman's † agent, confidant, and friend.

In the year 1765, complaints were made by the inhabitants of Maulda, and the adjacent country, of cruelties and oppressions committed by this man, of a nature shocking to humanity. Not only depredations on property, but various means of torture were used for the purpose of effecting his interested designs. Many particular crimes being proved by the oaths of witnesses, as likewise by the confession of Ramnaut himself ‡, the council directed him to be imprisoned, until satisfaction should be made to the persons injured. The fruitful brain of this man soon devised the means of his release. He pretended that he was only the agent of an English gentleman; that nothing had been done without the direction of his master, who had received the money; and that he was utterly unable to make satisfaction, unless he first recovered the money from that gentleman. Undertaking to satisfy those he had wronged, Ramnaut was dis-

* According to his own account 90,000 l. Preface to Considerations, p. 12. Mr. Bolts arrived in Bengal in the summer of the year 1760, and resigned the company's service in November 1766; during which time he was only a junior servant, and far below the rank of council in the presidency.

† The great intimacy subsisting between them appears from Considerations, p. 99, to 104. Mr. Bolts is desired to secure his effects to become responsible for payment of money, &c.

‡ The particulars appear upon the records of the company.

charged

charged from confinement * to prosecute a suit commenced in the Mayor's court. After much time elapsed, it evidently appeared, that he never had any serious intention to proceed in his action; but while at liberty he had devised another trick, which he hoped would interest the governor in the safety of his fortunes. He purchased, in July 1766, a quantity of salt, which had been consigned to Mr. Barwell, near Maulda, in November 1765, on the account of Mr. Verelst, who was then disposing of his mercantile property in the country; and became afterwards farther indebted on the sale of some boats. The purchase was made in the name of Bogwendass, and it was not before 25th October, 1766, that Mr. Verelst was informed, in a letter from Mr. Barwell, that Ramnaut had interest therein †; finding these evasions insufficient, in April 1767, he applied by letter to the governor, for leave to "lay his case before the juries at the next sessions," now for the first time accusing Nobekissen of extorting money from him during his former confinement. He received assurances that the strictest justice should be done him; but as the affair of Gocul Sonar, and also the story of the bramin's wife, justified every precaution, he was confined by a guard in his own house "to prevent his being tampered with, and instructed in his evidence, until he could be examined by the committee ‡." This passed on the 15th of April. When he was examined on the 18th, the falsehood of the whole charge became evident beyond a possibility of doubt. The demand of money was made by a man, whom he had never seen before or since; whose name he had heard, but did not remember. He gave Nobekissen a ring, valued at 14,200 rupees, yet could not produce a single witness who had seen this ring in his possession; and the

* Where an European was concerned, the council thought it necessary to proceed with caution, and remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, who had not sufficient power to repress the evil. Had this charge against Mr. Gray been true, the mayor's court could only have obliged him to refund the money, and the penal jurisdiction of the court of sessions extends little beyond the limits of Calcutta.

† Ramnaut had applied to Mr. Verelst, in the month of August, for his interest in procuring leave for his return to Maulda, on account of a share he had in the purchases made of that gentleman by Bogwandass. This pretence Mr. Verelst then considered as a mere artifice to obtain his release.

‡ See this letter in Considerations, p. 100, 101. This was not a subject of enquiry before that court, to which he wished to submit it; but had the complaint been founded in truth, the committee could have done him ample justice, and punished the offending party.

man,

man, of whom it was bought, equally unknown, was gone to Dehly. The money was given in private. His fervant, who carried another fum in gold Mohurs to Nobekiffen, was gone to Maulda. He had related this tale to his own fervants, and many others; yet not one perfon could he name. He had been preffed for the payment of his debts, pleaded poverty; yet never mentioned thefe extortions by which it was occafioned. Afraid to complain at the time, he had ventured to do this at the diftance of a year and half, although his enemy continued in his former employment. He had not even mentioned the fubject before the 5th of April to his friend Mr. Bolts, who then drew his paper of complaint.

Nobekiffen was now called. The examination of Ramnaut being read in the prefence of both, Nobekiffen remarked the inconfiftencies of his accufer, and pointed out the means by which fuch * a tranfaction might be proved, if it had ever exifted. He then concludes his defence in thefe words, "after he had (as he pretends) corrupted me with more than the fum "he was ordered to refund, he was ftill fubject to the demand; "whereas, by a proper application of his money, he might have ferved "every purpofe without my affiftance. What probability, gentlemen, "is there in this ftory? You are the judges." Ramnaut having heard the defence, contented himfelf with declaring, that he could not prove any circumftances, as the whole tranfaction was carried on with the greateft privacy.

Tired with his artifices, the committee, at length, ordered this man to be delivered over to the country government, that he might be compelled to make fatisfaction to the perfons he had injured; and the governor gave particular directions not to moleft him on account of his own debt, which ftill remains in part unpaid †. Yet, upon no better evidence than a fuppofed letter from this Ramnaut, does Mr. Bolts derive a charge againft

* Money tranfactions in this country are of a nature not to be concealed. All payments are in fpecie. A man of any confequence has a number of people about him, through whofe hands it paffes, and by whom his accounts are kept. Thefe Nobekiffen defired to have called, as no receipt, or payment, could be made unknown to *them*.

† Appendix, p. 200.

Mr. Verelſt; but it is the perpetual misfortune of the two friends, Mr. Bolts and Ramnaut, that no one can give credit to their accuſations, without ſuppoſing a general combination againſt them.

Another complaint is of violence done to "certain Armenian mer-"chants, of eſtabliſhed credit and reputation, who, like many hundreds "of others, had been long eſtabliſhed in India, and were at this time "peaceably engaged in carrying on their own mercantile buſineſs in the "dominions of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah *." The truth is, that the perſons here ſpoken of, were the † agents of Mr. Bolts, and acknowledged by him as ſuch in his letter to the ſelect committee about this period; although Mr. Bolts having been indulged with time for near two years after his reſignation of the ſervice, and aſſiſted in collecting his effects, had repeatedly promiſed, particularly the year ‡ before, not to engage in any farther concerns in the country. Inſtances of the like inconſiſtency are not unfrequent with the author of Conſiderations. Mr. Bolts, in Bengal, makes an extravagant uſe of the Engliſh influence, and endeavours, by every artifice of fictitious rumours and deceitful correſpondence, to increaſe his own importance, together with that of his agents, for the purpoſe of private emolument, in a manner injurious to the company, dangerous to our poſſeſſions, and deſtructive of the peace of the country §: nay, in an information delivered at the quarter ſeſſions at Calcutta, upon oath, he there denominates himſelf "a loyal *ſub-"ject* of Great Britain." Yet, when he is called upon by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company to anſwer for an interference with their excluſive trade to India, their zealous and devoted ſervant is not aſhamed to plead, that as an *alien* he is not the object of thoſe laws made for the protection and ſecurity of that company in whoſe ſervice he went firſt

* Conſiderations, p. 106.

† Mr. Bolts, according to his own declaration, before the committee of the houſe of commons, had one hundred and fifty of theſe agents; ſuch were "the merchants of *eſtabliſhed credit and reputation.*"

‡ In his letter to the ſelect committee, dated February 11, 1767, entered on the proceedings the third of March following, Mr. Bolts has the following words, "*I aſſure you, gentlemen, upon* "*my honor, that I have not lately, and ſhall not enter into any new inland concerns; and that I ſhall hold* "*none, but ſuch as I have already been ſometime engaged in.*" Appendix, p. 194. No. 100.

§ Appendix, p. 204, &c. particularly No. 115.

to

to India: A plea which the Court of Exchequer in England treated with the contempt it deserved. In Bengal Mr. Bolts makes his black servant sign the new covenants with his name, hoping thereby to evade the obligation. This being discovered, he applies with abject meanness to the sub-secretary, Mr. Baber, clandestinely to deliver the covenants so executed, out of the public office, for the express purpose, as he then declared, of re-executing the same *. The reason given by Mr. Bolts for his first default, is curious. It seems he had taken an oath not to sign covenants. Being detected, he was nevertheless eager to violate this sacred, though voluntary, obligation. Yet he now attempts to justify his conduct, because a lawyer has lately corrected his former error, by informing him, that his signature, being made with his consent, must be considered as his own act.

In the same spirit is conceived the account given of the Armenian merchants. He represents the general orders to have been particularly directed against certain individuals, "greatly interfering with the private "views of the governor and some of the council †:" yet Mr. Bolts knew these to have been only a repetition of the like orders, ineffectually issued, in consequence of reiterated commands from home ‡; and that the governor, in fact, was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in trade, from which he was restrained by a solemn oath, and by a bond with a large penalty §. The author of Considerations affirms, that all Armenians were prohibited from trading or transporting merchandize out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He well knew that experience of the turbulent, intriguing spirit of these people || during Meer Cossim's government of Bengal, and the frequent complaints of Sujah al Dowlah,

* Mr. Baber's affidavit, Appendix, p. 209. No. 126. Vide also No. 152.

† Considerations, p. 106.

‡ Vide Appendix from p. 179. If the dates of the several orders of the directors and of the resolutions of the council and committees thereupon be attended to, it will appear that the sentiments of all parties both at home and abroad have been the same upon this subject.

§ The purchase of diamonds for the remittance of the governor's private fortune to Europe, and for that purpose only, is excepted in the oath. This however has no relation to the trade mentioned by Mr. Bolts.

|| The Armenians resemble Europeans in activity and vigour both of mind and body, for this reason, they were employed in the most important offices, civil and military, by Meer Cossim. For the same reasons they were the properest instruments for our traders.

had proved them ſo capable of embroiling us with the neighbouring powers, by uſurping the name of Engliſh agents, and abuſing the influence thereby obtained, that it became neceſſary to confine the commerce out of the provinces, to ſuch as, diſclaiming the Engliſh protection, were contented to be wholly ſubject to the laws of that country wherein they reſided. The conduct of ſome Armenians would have juſtified a general prohibition; but the truth is, that thoſe who would traffick upon theſe terms, were never interrupted. The reader who will recollect the numerous evils produced by the private trade of the company's ſervants, and abuſe of the Engliſh power during Meer Coſſim's adminiſtration, will not be ſurpriſed to find Sujah al Dowlah expreſſing the moſt extreme ſolicitude, that the like practices might never prevail in his dominions. At the ſame time, he was cautious of iſſuing any orders, which might create the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of a diſagreement between him and us; nor would he take any meaſure which might poſſibly offend the Engliſh gentlemen, but in conjunction with our government *. He was extremely deſirous that whatever was done reſpecting Engliſh agents, ſhould be wholly the act of the governor and council; but when theſe gentlemen, apprehenſive of ill conſequences to themſelves, where they had no legal authority, declined a direct interpoſition, he yet inſiſted that our people ſhould be the immediate inſtruments in an act which otherwiſe might wear an hoſtile appearance. Accordingly, theſe Armenian gomaſtahs were ſeized by our ſepoys under the direction of Sujah al Dowlah's officers.

Soon after the recovery of Calcutta, the ſubſequent defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, and the eſtabliſhment of Meer Jaffier, the power of the Engliſh traders in Bengal was ſeverely felt by the natives, and greatly contributed to the diſtreſſes of Meer Jaffier's government, which, in the year 1760, afforded a pretence for a new revolution in favour of Meer Coſſim. This evil continued rapidly to increaſe, and in the year 1762, Mr. Haſtings, in a letter to the governor, exhibits a truly deplorable picture of the country. " I beg leave to lay before you a grievance, which calls loudly " for redreſs. I mean the oppreſſions committed under the ſanction of " the Engliſh name, and through want of ſpirit in the nabob's ſubjects

* Appendix, p. 186. No. 82.

" to

" to oppofe them. This evil, I am well affured, is not confined to our
" dependents alone, but is practifed all over the country by people af-
" fuming the habits of our fepoys, and calling themfelves our gomaftahs.
" As, on fuch occafions, the great power of the Englifh intimidates the
" people from refiftance, fo, on the other hand, the indolence of the
" Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining accefs to thofe who might do
" them juftice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppreffions, and
" encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited, fcandal
" of our government.

" I have been furprifed to meet with feveral Englifh flags, flying in
" places which I have paffed, and on the river I do not believe that I
" paffed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been affumed
" (for I could only truft to the information of my eyes, without ftopping
" to afk queftions) I am fure their frequency can bode no good to the
" nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or honour of our nation, but
" evidently tends to leffen each of them.

" A party of fepoys who were on the march before us, afforded fuf-
" ficient proofs of the rapacious and infolent fpirit of thofe people, when
" left to their own difcretion. Many complaints againft them were made
" me on the road, and moft of the petty towns and ferais were deferted at
" our approach, and the fhops fhut up, from apprehenfions of the fame
" treatment from us."

The fubahdar Meer Coffim, about the fame time, complains that the Englifh agents plundered his people, injured and difgraced his fervants, and expofed his government to contempt. They had eftablifhed numerous factories, and fetting up the Englifh colours, oppreffed the ryots, or hufbandmen, the merchants, and people of the country. " Every Bengal gomaftah makes
" a difturbance at every factory, and thinks himfelf not inferior to the
" company. In every purgunnah, every village, and every factory, they
" buy and fell falt, beetle-nut, ghee, rice, ftraw, bamboos, fifh, gunnils,
" ginger, fugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things more than I
" can write, and which I think it needlefs to mention. They forcibly
" take away the goods and commodities of the ryots, merchants, &c.
" for

" for a fourth part of their value, and, by ways of violence and op-
" pressions, they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods
" which are worth but one rupee; and, for the sake of five rupees, they
" bind and disgrace an assammee, who pays one hundred rupees mal-
" guzarree *, and they allow not any authority to my servants; the of-
" ficers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their func-
" tions; and every one of these gomastahs has such power, that he im-
" prisons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he
" pleases."

Such was the state of the country, which proved the immediate cause of our war with Meer Cossim; immediate, for as there could be no choice, but of absolute dominion, or intire subjection, he had certainly resolved, from his first accession, to resist the power of the English, and, in less than three years, had well nigh obtained that independence, to which all the measures of his government were evidently directed.

Mr. Bolts arrived in India in the year 1760, and we soon find him a principal figure amidst the groupe of traders. The extent to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with which he conducted himself, will be best known from his fortune of ninety thousand pounds, gained within six years, together with the extreme eagerness with which he endeavoured, upon all occasions, to degrade the authority of the government, and prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives †.

Among the private persons who usurped the office of their superiors, Mr. Bolts was very early distinguished, who wrote in his own name to the fouzdar of Purnea ‡, threatening the nabob's officers with the effect of the English power. Mr. Vansittart § observes, " of course every merchant " will take the same authority;" and very justly adds, " that this intire

* The rents, or land-tax.

† Appendix, p. 203. No. 114, and p. 208. No. 124, &c. &c.

‡ In the year 1762. See Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. p. 209. Appendix, p. 191. N. 94.

§ See Mr. Vansittart's Minute, in his Narrative, p. 250. Vol. II.

" level-

" levelling and equality will not be for the good of the company's af-
" fairs *."

To level all diſtinctions, to intimidate the governor and council, and, by clamour, to confine them within the ſtrict letter of laws, calculated for a very different ſtate of ſociety, has ever been the conſtant object of thoſe, who, from motives of private intereſt, wiſhed to abuſe that influence which the name of Engliſhman was alone ſufficient to confer.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Bolts was reprimanded by order of the court of directors in the general letter to Bengal, received in July 1764 †; yet, in the year 1765, we find him exerciſing ‡ ſummary juriſdiction in his own cauſe, and confining a merchant for three days, whom, at length he was compelled to releaſe. He was ſoon after this, ſuſpended from his appointment at Benâres, but the trade of a country, yet unexhauſted, was too lucrative to be eaſily relinquiſhed.

The November following, Mr. Bolts reſigned his ſtation in the ſervice, and was about this time elected an alderman and judge of the mayor's court in Calcutta. Here therefore commences his furious zeal for reformation, and, in the beginning of the next year, he was actively engaged in the complaint againſt Nobekiſſen, which ended with little honour to the authors. The public concerns of Mr. Bolts never intruded upon his private cares, and infinite arts were tried to prevent a diſmiſſion of his agents from the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah. The great diſtance from Calcutta gave to falſehood the weight of truth. Various rumours were therefore propagated, which Mr. Bolts endeavoured § to ſupport by his correſpondence. At one time, Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with the moſt extenſive powers. At another time, theſe people were

* Mr. Bolts tells us (Conſiderations p. 82.) that " the governor, by the eſtabliſhed rule of " the company's ſervice, is the perſon to whom all correſpondence, by letter or otherwiſe, with " the country powers is committed, and the only perſon in the ſervice to whom ſuch correſpon- " dence of any ſort is allowed." One of the many reaſons for Mr. Bolts being ſent to England, though very low in the ſervice, was his arrogating to himſelf this *eſtabliſhed authority of a governor.*

† See the extract of this letter, Appendix, p. 192. No. 95.

‡ This appears from his own letters entered in the conſultations of the council in February, 1766.

§ Appendix, p. 204. No. 115.

taken

taken into Mr. Rumbold's ſervice, and a letter was on the road from the council, that none ſhould be licenſed as Engliſh agents but themſelves. While ſuch arts were employed to influence the mind of the nabob of Oude, the war upon the Coaſt had drained the treaſury of Bengal, and the moſt alarming accounts were induſtriouſly ſpread of the inſtability of the company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occaſion, Sujah al Dowlah began to liſten to the voice of ambition. Coja * Rafael, for the ſake of intelligence, was taken into his ſervice, through the influence of Meer Muſhallah (formerly phyſician to Meer Coſſim, and, at this time, retained by the nabob of Oude) who likewiſe correſponded with our patriot at Calcutta †. When the ſtorm blew off, the dread of our power revived. Sujah al Dowlah, again regarding the Engliſh agents as a ſource of contention, applied to our commanding officer at Allah-abad, for their removal; and both parties, being now equally ſincere, it was ſoon effected ‡.

That Mr. Bolts was a party to theſe practices cannot be doubted, when the reader is informed of a confidential letter written by that gentleman to Monſieur Gentil, a Frenchman, high in Sujah al Dowlah's confidence, in which, he ſays, "I have written a letter to the nabob, to whom I beg "you will give my humble reſpects. There is arrived an Engliſh Europe "ſhip, and another French one. The affairs of our company are in "great agitation before the king and parliament of England; and accord-"ing to the letters I have received, there is a great probability that my "partner Mr. Johnſtone will come out governor on the part of the king ‖."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Bolts and his agents, which produced at length the removal of the latter from the territories of Oude; and after, every other expedient had been tried to reclaim a man, who appeared determined to ſacrifice all public duties to his own intereſted purſuits, and who had actually preſented to the grand jury an information againſt the

* Mr. Bolts' agent, now in England.
† Appendix, p. 189. No. 88. p. 203. No. 113. and p. 204. No. 115.
‡ Appendix, p. 189. No. 82.
‖ Appendix, p. 203. No. 114.

go-

governor, council, and commander in chief, for endeavouring to restrain his pernicious practices, Mr. Bolts himself was sent to England. Instead of punishing Coja Gregory and Johannes Padre Rafael as they deserved, such was the idle lenity of our government, that they immediately received their liberty, and every assistance was offered to collect their effects, an assistance probably unnecessary, as they chose to depart for Europe.

That the measures of our government were sufficiently vigorous and decisive upon this, as upon other occasions, it might be difficult to prove; but, when Mr. Bolts had been indulged with near two years, after his resignation of the service, to collect his effects; when the public authority had been employed, and letters written by the governor to Bulwant Sing, and the nabob of Oude, requesting their assistance for the settlement * of his affairs; it was surely no very ruinous oppression to send away that gentleman by force, whom the most solemn promises, repeatedly given, could not engage voluntarily to depart for Europe. The governor and council were indeed criminal. It was criminal, for a moment to suffer the residence of a man, who, independent of other demerits, had corresponded with every rival, and every enemy of the company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch governor, to monopolize the cloth-trade of Dacca †; who had scandalously evaded the execution of covenants, which, as a servant of the company, he was bound to subscribe ‡; who had attempted one, and actually succeeded in seducing another, inferior servant, to betray his trust, in delivering papers out of the office; who had, from his first arrival in India, carried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob ||, and had issued his proclamation in the stile of a sovereign §; whose agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, and by false intelligence received from their master, had endangered the peace of India ¶. To suffer such a man in Bengal, was surely

* See extracts of the president's letter, Appendix, p. 195. No. 103, 104.
† Appendix, p. 196. No. 108.
‡ Appendix, p. 209. No. 125, 126.
|| Appendix, p. 101. No. 94.
§ Appendix, p. 208. No. 124.
¶ Appendix, p. 7, 186. No. 82, 88, 93, 113, 115.

criminal. But if ſuits are now commenced in our courts of law, if petitions are preſented to the houſe of commons, and unwarrantable prejudices are induſtriouſly fomented, what might we expect, had ample juſtice been done to the company and to the nation?

Enough has been ſaid to ſhew that the evils complained of in Bengal, have ariſen rather from the inability of the governor and council to reſtrain the daring and pernicious projects of private intereſt in others, than from a rapacious ſpirit in themſelves. Had the higher ſervants of the company, as the author of Conſiderations would wiſh us to believe, been alone the oppreſſors of Bengal, the evil could not have extended far. But when the rapacity of all who aſſume the Engliſh name, is let looſe upon a harmleſs and inoffenſive race of men; when every attempt of the governor and council to reſtrain theſe lawleſs traders, is repreſented as a violation of property, and infringement of thoſe laws by which only Europeans can be governed; and when this ſpirit, ſupported by intereſted men, proceeds ſo far, that the governor, council, and commander in chief, are preſented to the grand jury as conſpirators againſt the life and fortune of an individual; we muſt not be ſurprized if gentlemen relax ſomewhat in the exerciſe of new, unknown, and queſtionable powers, however neceſſary to the welfare or ſafety of the province.

THE

CHAP. I.

A general View of the Affairs of BENGAL from the Capture of CALCUTTA, in 1757, to the Grant of the Dewanny to the INDIA COMPANY, in 1765.

WHEN a portrait is presented to our view, those acquainted with the original readily pronounce upon the degree of similitude in the copy. They easily perceive the whole to be unlike, and can even discover where the smaller traits of truth, in particular parts, are made subservient to the purposes of falshood; yet would it be difficult to make a by-stander comprehend the manner in which each feature was perverted. I have nevertheless endeavoured to prove, in the introductory discourse prefixed, that the picture which Mr. Bolts has exhibited of Bengal manners bears no resemblance to the real state of affairs, or to the conduct of those concerned. After all, perhaps, the best means of detecting misrepresentation, is to contrast it with a faithful likeness. To delineate justly the subject, shall therefore be my next attempt.

The reader must not, however, expect a laborious detail. It is more consistent with the design of this work, to give a general map of the country, leaving to others the task of tracing the more minute divisions. To afford a compendious view of the British affairs in Bengal, the first chapter will contain a short historical deduction; because in this flux of events, the reader will discover those situations to which the conduct of men must refer, and by which alone their merits can justly be tried.

The necessity of an exclusive company, the expediency of uniting the commerce, the political power, and the revenues in the same hands, are so evident from considering the distance of the countries, the genius of

the inhabitants, and the nature of the trade, and are so fully evinced by the experience of other European nations, that he who wants conviction upon these first principles, may relinquish all farther enquiry. To such men this work cannot be addressed. Yet even these may be informed, that the exchequer receives annually four fifths of the profits gained by the company; the proprietors of East India stock one fifth; while the property of the latter has been employed in sustaining the power of Great Britain, and wresting all dominion from her enemies in Asia: that if the company has occasionally obtained the protection due to every subject from the state, it has likewise given an assistance which no other subjects could afford, has lavished its own wealth, and risked its own security in * national contests, in which the company's interests were by no means involved.

The ambition of the French first drew the English into the field. The struggles maintained for many years upon the coast of Coromandel, prepared a force, in the conduct of which colonel Clive had been eminently distinguished †. Upon the capture of Calcutta, in the year 1757, he was, without regard to his rank, unanimously chosen for the command of that expedition, which, to restore the company's affairs in Bengal, was immediately undertaken. The transactions of this period have been already related by ‡ others. Let it suffice here to observe, that Calcutta was retaken, and Serajah al Dowlah concluded a peace with the English, which, through the timid irresolution of the Nabob, and the ability of our commanders, Admiral Watson and colonel Clive, was happily improved to the destruction of the French settlement at Chandernagore. Certain intelligence was afterwards received of Serajah al Dowlah's design to extirpate the English, whenever our forces should return to the Coast §. Hostilities therefore

* The war which ensued when the proffered neutrality upon the coast of Coromandel was rejected, the expedition to Manilla, &c.

† See Mr. Orme's History. Before this period colonel Clive had received many honourable testimonies of his eminent services, particularly in 1754, the directors voted that a sword set with diamonds of the value of five hundred pounds should be presented to him.

‡ Mr. Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of India, &c.

§ See Introduction, p. 16, 17.

again

again commenced. The nature of the government, the character of the prince, and the universal distrust which from these causes prevailed, afforded abundant occasions of intrigue; and enabled Mr. Watts and colonel Clive, to whom the whole conduct of this business was committed, to cherish a disaffection, which prevented any effectual measures for defence on the part of the Nabob. Our army advanced within thirty miles of the capital, unassured of assistance, but a want of confidence in the enemy's camp, with the advantageous situation of the English, afforded an easy victory to a handful of troops; and Meer Jaffier, in pursuance of a previous treaty, was immediately proclaimed Subahdar of Bengal *.

Thus a train of events led us into a delicate situation, replete with the seeds of jealousy. Meer Jaffier, educated in the habits of a Moorish court, distrusted a moderation to which he had never been accustomed, and which, probably, was little consonant to the dictates of his own mind. Various schemes of independence were occasionally adopted, all of very difficult execution. To balance European powers against each other was a dangerous expedient; yet, by inviting the Dutch, he seems at one period to have embraced it. In the mean time the English, contented with their present advantages, interfered not in the affairs of government; but the difficulties in which the nabob was involved, soon obliged him to call for their assistance.

Every thing in these countries depends on personal character. Before this is fully established, rebellions are frequent, in which the death of the rebel can prove only a lesson of caution to succeeding governors, who regard him as the victim of an unfortunate ambition, rather than the proper object of punishment. Upon these occasions negociations commonly ensued, but the Koran was pledged in vain. Colonel Clive therefore, at the desire of the nabob, guaranteed his engagements with several powerful subjects. A strict observance of treaties amidst all the seductions which both parties could employ, established our credit in the country; and

* Appendix, p. 143. No. 39.

taught

taught men to regard the Engliſh faith as the beſt ſecurity of their lives, their honours, and their fortunes. Subſequent events, in which Meer Jaffier was ſnatched, by the aſſiſtance of colonel Clive, from the verge of deſtruction, fully ſecured his confidence; and, ſenſible of our attachment, he diſmiſſed part of that unwieldy * army, whoſe mutinies were formidable to the prince, while they performed little ſervice in the field. When the Dutch arrived, the nabob refuſed them permiſſion to land. Perſiſting in their enterpriſe, they were afterwards defeated by our troops, aſſiſted by ſome Indian cavalry.

In this ſituation of affairs colonel Clive returned to Europe, Mr. Holwell ſucceeded him in the government, and very early complains of a want of confidence, which his own intrigues † had occaſioned, propoſing a revolution as the beſt means to obtain a perfect reliance upon Engliſh faith. Mr. Vanſittart adopted the views of his predeceſſor, and Meer Jaffier was depoſed within a twelvemonth after colonel Clive left the country. The diſputes on this ſubject I ſhall forbear to revive.

By this revolution ‡ the company obtained an acceſſion of revenue. The number of their troops gradually increaſed. The influence of individuals grew with the national power, producing numberleſs diſorders throughout the provinces. A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the proſecution of which infinite oppreſſions were committed. Engliſh agents or Gomaſtahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and puniſhing the nabob's

* Amounting to eighty thouſand men.

† A packet from this gentleman to the Shaw Zadah, who was then in arms againſt Meer Jaffier, was intercepted by the latter, after Mr. Holwell had entertained the project of a revolution. If we may judge of this from a former letter, in which the Shaw Zadah offered a "carte "blanche if we would withdraw our aſſiſtance from this *doer of evil*," the ſupport of Meer Jaffier's government was not the ſubject of this correſpondence. Vide Mr. Holwell's letter to colonel Caillaud, dated April 7th, 1760. That Mr. Holwell entertained the project of a revolution from his firſt acceſſion to the government, has been evinced by Mr. Scrafton in his "Obſerva- "tions on Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative." The proofs adduced by Mr. Strafton are *extracts* from the correſpondence of Mr. Holwell, as publiſhed by himſelf in his "Addreſs to the Proprietors "of India Stock," publiſhed for Becket. The letter here mentioned is contained in page 28, 29. of Mr. Holwell's Addreſs, which was printed in 1764.

‡ A. D. 1760.

bob's officers, whenever they presumed to interfere. This was the immediate cause of the ensuing war with Meer Cossim, but the real source of this contest for power remains yet to be explained. It was impossible that Meer Cossim should rest the foundation of his government upon our support. Self-defence taught him to look for independence, and he sought it in the blood of all who had enjoyed the English protection. Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, was among the number of those for whose safety our faith had been pledged, whose destruction was therefore resolved on. After bribes had been tried in vain, with the gentlemen who commanded at Patna, after every art of intrigue had been employed during several months to no purpose, the misrepresentations of the nabob, supported by the influence of Mr. Vansittart, at length prevailed in council, and the English support was withdrawn from this unfortunate man. Meer Cossim's views now became evident; for Ramnarain, having lost our protection, was soon after put to death. From that hour, no person of rank would venture to correspond with the English, and we no longer had a friend in the country. Meer Cossim withdrew to Mongheer, where, by disciplining his troops, he prepared for a struggle, which he most certainly meditated from his first accession; while in his correspondence with the governor, he constantly used the language of a man whose existence depended on the breath of the English.

On the other hand, a majority of the council viewed with jealous eyes every act of government. They considered all resistance to the privilege they claimed, as a settled determination to subvert the power of the company; and passion thus uniting with interest, they urged a measure of national policy with the little peevish petulance of a personal quarrel *. In truth it very early became such. Meer Cossim, in the orders issued to his officers, distinguished between the trade of his friends and of those who opposed him, treating individuals with indecent reproach. Whilst the leading members of the council, regarding him as a public enemy, had resolved to annihi-

* The minutes of some gentlemen in council, immediately preceding the rupture with Meer Cossim, abundantly justify this observation. Mr. Verelst himself, in the years 1762 and 1763, being absent from Calcutta, can speak only from public papers.

late

late his power. With ſuch diſpoſitions on both ſides war was inevitable, but the moderation of Mr. Amyatt and ſome few others for a time ſuſpended its commencement.

This gentleman, who amidſt the violence of party rage was univerſally beloved, offered himſelf as a deputy on the part of the Engliſh, to negotiate what he thought a peace. Reſpected for his integrity by Meer Coſſim, whoſe elevation he diſapproved, and whoſe independence he oppoſed, it was hoped that his character might give weight to the embaſſy, and convince the Nabob of our ſincere inclination to ſettle amicably the ſubjects in diſpute. Meer Coſſim, able, vigilant, and enterpriſing in the cabinet, was a coward by nature. While the deputies were with him at Mongheer, he might probably fluctuate in his councils, and heſitate to draw the ſword *. But the ſituation to which he had deliberately advanced, rendered a retreat at this time impoſſible. During the courſe of nearly two years, he had induſtriouſly involved every officer of his government in conteſts with the Engliſh, and laboured to make his own quarrel the common cauſe of his ſubjects. Such was the effects of this policy in inflaming the minds of the natives, that to the laſt hour of the war, not a man of any conſequence deſerted his ſtandard.

Had the army marched three months ſooner, Meer Coſſim muſt have implicitly ſubmitted; but an unfortunate delay, when negotiation could no longer be of uſe, occaſioned the loſs of Patna, together with one third of our troops †. The Nabob about this period put the two Seets to death for their ſuppoſed attachment to the Engliſh; and ſuch was his implacable fury, that an hundred and fifty Engliſh priſoners were inhumanly butchered by his expreſs command ‡. After a more vigorous reſiſtance, than

* See various letters of the deputies in Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative, among other papers, from p. 214 to 325. Vol. III.

† Three hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys.

‡ Two brothers, rich bankers; at the ſame time he deſtroyed every conſiderable man who had the ſlighteſt communication with the Engliſh.

we

we had ever before experienced, he was at length completely defeated, and Meer Jaffier again poſſeſſed the ſubahdarry of the three provinces.

Meer Jaffier, however, did not obtain that plenitude of power which his predeceſſor enjoyed. Limited by treaty in the number of his troops, he was not permitted to remove his court without adviſing the council; and they at firſt intended to make him a mere pageant in captivity, by ſtipulating the conſtant attendance of a body guard from the * Engliſh army. Ample proviſion was made upon this occaſion for the intereſt of private traders, and Meer Coſſim's edict, aboliſhing all impoſts upon commerce, was reſcinded, that our gentlemen might remain the only merchants in Bengal. Theſe eſſential points being thus atchieved, the much talked of regulations to repreſs the violence of Engliſh agents were in terms declared the ſubject of future deliberation †.

If the country government had been oppreſſed before, it was now annihilated. Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in July, 1763. In January, 1764, Mr. Gray, reſident at Maulda, wrote to the preſident, "ſince my arrival "here, I have had an opportunity of ſeeing the villainous practices uſed "by the Calcutta gomaſtahs in carrying on their buſineſs. The go-"vernment have certainly too much reaſon to complain of their want of "influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a ſet of raſcals, "who in Calcutta walk in rags, but when they are ſent out on gomaſtah-"ſhips, lord it over the country, impriſoning the ryots and merchants, "and writing and talking in the moſt inſolent domineering manner to the "fouzdars and officers." Nor was the miſchief confined to a particular ſpot; for Mr. Senior, chief at Coſſimbazar, wrote the March following to the governor, "It would amaze you, the number of complaints that "daily come before me of the extravagancies committed by our agents "and gomaſtahs, all over the country." Such were the effects of this trade. Yet the article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, which eſtabliſhed

* This article was in the treaty firſt preſented to Meer Jaffier, but changed at his deſire to a ſtipulation that the Engliſh troops ſhould attend him when wanted. Appendix 159. No. 48. Art. 5. and the treaty concluded, p. 160. No. 49. Art. 7.

† See Appendix, p. 160. No. 49.

the exemption from duties, although condemned by the directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah, in February, 1765 †.

When Meer Jaffier was dying, he declared his son, Nudjum al Dowlah, his successor; but such a declaration could have little effect, until an acknowledgment of him as Subahdar was procured from the English. No sooner was the death of the father known in Calcutta, than the accession of the son became a subject of treaty. The uneasiness expressed by the former determined the council to remove all possibility of future contention. To effectuate this purpose, after confirming all former treaties, Nudjum al Dowlah by the fourth article is disarmed, stipulating that he will rely upon the company's forces, and maintain no troops but such as "are immediately "necessary for the dignity of his person and government, and the business "of his collections through the provinces." Even these troops were not continued under the direction of the Nabob, who, by the second article, "agrees to have a person fixed with him, by the advice of the governor and "council, in the station of Naib Subah, who shall have immediately un-"der him the chief management of all affairs." He farther engages that Mahomed Reza Cawn, on whom this trust was conferred, shall not be displaced "without the approbation of these gentlemen." By the third article, under the terms of paying "a proper regard to representa-"tions, when improper people are intrusted," a general power of appointing or displacing all officers at pleasure is vested in the governor and council. Having thus provided for the public service, the gentlemen of the deputation were not inattentive to *private* interest; about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds being distributed, under the * denomination of presents from the nabob, Mahomed Reza Cawn the minister, and a rich banker, Jugget Scet. Mr. Verelst, hearing a report in the country, which led him to suspect that our declaration in favour of the Subahdar was delayed by the negotiation of this last mentioned business, wrote to one of the

† Appendix, p. 164. No. 52. Art. 5.

* Mahomed Reza Cawn affirms that these sums were not voluntarily given. This the English gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who considers the encreased power of the English, may regard this as a verbal dispute.

deputies,

deputies, disclaiming any share for himself, and representing the disgrace which such transaction must necessarily bring upon all concerned *.

Orders had before arrived for executing the new covenants to prevent a receipt of presents; which orders the servants were bound to observe by their first engagements with the company. Governor Spencer and his council thought these orders "not so † peremptory as to exclude them "from expostulating with the court of directors." This expostulation,

* *Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, one of the deputies on the accession of Nudjum al Dowlah to the Subahdarry of Bengal, dated Islam-abad, the seventh of March,* 1765.

"Some rumours have spread abroad that a present is intended the council on the new ac-"cession. I hope there is no truth in it. I should be sorry there was a thought, at so criti-"cal a time, of any such thing; for it must entail, on every one concerned, the world's se-"verest censure."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Verelst, in answer to the above, dated Moradbaug, the eighteenth of March, 1765.

"I have been told that the nabob intends a present to all the board, but am not quite cer-"tain of it. If such a thing be offered, I cannot, my friend, see the least impropriety in ac-"cepting of it; custom, and the conduct of one of our worthiest men, justifies it. When "Meer Jaffier was first raised to the subahdarry, the board received a present from him, and "were not censured; and, it is well known, that the old gentleman has since considered "some of his friends *; and, it must be allowed, that the present nabob receives his go-"vernment from our hands, as his father did. If any thing of this kind was to be offered in "consideration of services to be done, or any kind of bargain made before hand, it would be "highly improper to take it, but when it is given for what we think right, I do not, for my "own part, see the least harm in it."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, in reply, dated Islam-abad, the twenty-eighth of April, 1765.

"The nabob has an undoubted right to reward such persons as he may think have been ser-"viceable to him, without reproach to him or them, provided it is not a contract first made for "such services, and the persons no ways actuated in their proceedings by the expectations of it. "The long delay made of our declaration in the nabob's behalf, and a rumor that a present "was expected to be made to the board, gave, in my opinion, too much reason to the world "to think that it was a preliminary article. If so, I must entirely disapprove it. As a mem-"ber of the board, and, as such, one intended to be considered, I shall only say, I must de-"cline such a consideration; as I am not sensible of any services I have rendered the present "nabob, to merit a pecuniary reward. The old nabob (Meer Jaffier) I know has been some-"times generous to his friends, nor do I think them wrong in accepting his favours; for, as "many examples as I have heard, they were really deserving of them. I might, if I had "chose, been considered in this number; but I had many reasons that made me decline it."

† See a letter from Messrs. Leycester and Gray to the court of directors, dated the twenty-ninth of September, 1765. Authentic papers concerning India affairs, p. 132.

* Alluding to the legacy of five lack of rupees left by Meer Jaffier to lord Clive, which was settled by his lordship as a fund for the support of disabled officers and soldiers in the company's service, and of the widows of officers and soldiers.

 however,

however, was totally forgotten, no notice being taken of the covenants, either in the council books or general letter. The execution of them was "deferred * till lord Clive's arrival, to come under consideration with "the other regulations directed in the letter of the first of June, "1764, when they hoped to be *better informed* of the final resolves of "the directors." Yet these gentlemen were abundantly alert in concluding treaties, productive of such fruits; although lord Clive was every day expected, and they were † already informed that he had been chosen by the whole body of proprietors to undertake the charge of their affairs, full powers being given to him jointly with a select committee.

We have continued the relation of political transactions with the successive Subahdars of Bengal, that the reader may fully comprehend the progressive increase of the English power to the final establishment of *that government* ‡, which has since prevailed under the influence of our governor and council. It will now be necessary to look back to the measures pursued against foreign enemies, as these were productive of that situation, to which the subsequent treaties refer. Major Adams had driven Meer Cossim out of the provinces, who retired into the neighbouring dominions of Oude, when death deprived the company of this gallant and experienced officer. Upon the alarm of these commotions, Sujah al Dowlah, the Subahdar of Oude, advanced with an army to the borders, where he might probably have been contented with partaking the treasures of Meer Cossim, had not a mutiny among our troops given birth to new hopes. Elated with the prospect of an easy conquest, and impressed perhaps with an apprehension of ambitious designs on our part, he resolved upon hostilities, and took the field. The mutinous disposition of the English army

* The same letter, p. 133.

† This was by the letter of the first of June, 1764, in which the directors expresly say, that the appointment of a select committee should not prevent the council taking proper measures for the general execution of the covenants.

‡ It is very remarkable that this arrangement, which has been called in derision the double government, was established by the very men who have since reproached lord Clive and the select committee with this measure. In truth it grew out of the situation of affairs; but some gentlemen seem not to have adverted thereto, until they felt it as a restraint upon their own pursuits.

rendered

rendered it imprudent at this time to hazard a general action, but Sujah al Dowlah was neverthelefs repulfed in all his attempts. The troops, by a well timed feverity, begun by general Carnac, and happily purfued by his fucceffor, being afterwards reduced to obedience, major Hector Munro, in the next campaign, obtained the important victory of Buxar.

This advantage was farther purfued, until the King *, finding the affairs of his allies declining, deferted their caufe, and joined the only power capable of fupporting his pretenfions to the throne of Dehly. A fcheme was now adopted of obtaining for the company a grant of the zemindarry of Bulwant Sing. The other dominions of Oude were to be conquered for the king, and his poffeffion to be fupported by the Englifh arms §. A plan more abfurd can fcarcely be imagined; but the fubfequent furrender of Sujah al Dowlah to general Carnac †, enabled the felect committee, on whom the conduct of affairs devolved, to effect a very different arrangement.

The revenues of a country at the diftance of feven hundred ‡ miles from Calcutta, could afford little advantage to a trading company; while fuch a fituation withdrew their forces from the protection of that commerce, which could alone render poffeffions in India beneficial to Great Britain. Political connections without the provinces mifled the attention of our government from national objects, at the fame time that it opened a field of private ambition, which might probably have marched an Englifh army to Dehly. To relinquifh fuch profpects was no facrifice of intereft. Yet the reftoration of territories to a vanquifhed enemy removed the apprehenfions entertained of our ambition, and convinced the princes of India that we could have no defign to enlarge our poffeffions beyond the pro-

* So the Mogul has been ufually denominated.

§ Appendix, No. 51. A. B. C.

† Who now a fecond time commanded the army.

‡ Thefe revenues muft have been exhaufted by perpetual military operations, in which fuch a fituation would have involved the company, or, what is worfe, proved a fund of peculation to corrupt their fervants. The diftance would have rendered the military expences enormous, the detection of frauds impoffible.

vinces

vinces of Bengal. This point being resolved, the means of accomplishing so desireable an object, without betraying the honour of the company, employed the attention of the select committee. Their instructions * to lord Clive and general Carnac will fully explain their views. Had the territories of Oude not been restored to Sujah al Dowlah, his great abilities and high character throughout the empire would have made him, when driven to despair, a troublesome, if not a dangerous, enemy. None other could have maintained the possession without our assistance, much less, like him, have formed a secure barrier against the northern nations. The greater part of his dominions were therefore restored; and as our former engagements rendered a desertion of the King inconsistent with the national honour, he was established in the country of Korah, with part of the province of Illah-abad. The payment of twenty-six lacks of rupees annually from Bengal was also stipulated by treaty. Would the King have been contented to accept a territory nearer to us, this drain of specie might have less affected Bengal; but his mind was so intent upon an ‡ expedition to Dehly, which the possession of Illah-abad seemed to favour, that an intimation of other terms was received with disgust. Such was the plan adopted by the select committee, in pursuance of which a peace was at length concluded †. The only article of a temporary nature regards fifty lacks of § rupees, to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, to the company, as an indemnification of the expences incurred by the war.

In Bengal, Nudjum al Dowlah, after paying the sums stipulated by the treaty in February, 1765, nominally possessed a revenue of two millions. His authority in the country was insufficient even for the collection of the revenues, without our assistance. The actual administration of govern-

* The substance of these instructions are given in a letter to the directors, Appendix, p. 6.

‡ After labouring in vain to engage the English, he has at length undertaken this enterprize with an army of Maharattas.

† In the summer of 1765. See Appendix, 176. No. 53. to No. 60.

§ This sum was greatly inadequate to our expences, but it was impossible to require more without distressing the country.

ment

ment had therefore been given to a minifter named by the governor and council, and the Nabob became dependent for his daily fubfiftence on the bounty of his mafters. In this fituation he relinquifhed an unafcertained demand upon a treafury under the management of others, for a liquidated fum, and fifty-three lacks, eighty-fix thoufand one hundred and thirty-one ‡ Sicca rupees were fettled, as fully fufficient for all the purpofes of perfonal dignity, and the parade of grandeur. This agreement was confirmed by the King, who, fubject to the feveral payments to Nudjum al Dowlah and himfelf, granted the dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriffa, to the Englifh Eaft-India company.

If we review the hiftory of our tranfactions in Bengal, it cannot efcape the moft fuperficial obferver, that there was but one point, in the progreffive aggrandizement of the company, at which it was poffible to have ftopped, before the force, revenues, and government of the country were united in the hands of the Englifh. When Calcutta was taken, felf-defence involved us in a war with the Subahdar. Our firft fucceffes proving the fuperiority of European difcipline, made us the object of his fears; and nothing but an incapacity of effecting his purpofe could deter any fucceffive Subahdar from attempting our deftruction. This incapacity was happily effected by engagements taken at the defire of Meer Jaffier, with Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, and fome others. Had thefe engagements been religioufly obferved, the Englifh would have ftood, like the feveral nations in Europe, fecure, not from their own ftrength alone, but protected by the irreconcileable interefts of all around them. No fooner was this fyftem overthrown by facrificing our allies, and furrendering the unreftrained dominion of the provinces into the hands of Meer Coffim, than a decided fuperiority became the only means of fafety. The conduct of individuals might accelerate or retard, but never could have prevented the enfuing conteft for power. Impelled by neceffity, we proceeded to dominion, before the council at Calcutta feemed to have underftood the fituation to which they had advanced. In what other manner can we account

‡ This we may fafely aver was a larger fum than any Subahdar, in the full poffeffion of his revenues had ever been able to appropriate for his own expence.

for

for the remiſſneſs of thoſe who, upon the death of Meer Jaffier, neglected to eſtabliſh the foundations of that fabrick which our victories had reared; who gave the revenues of a great country into the hands of a boy, without the means of employing them; the revenues of a country protected by our arms, the government of which, by their own treaty, was transferred to themſelves *. Such a ſituation might gratify individual avarice, but could yield no real benefit to the India company, or to the Britiſh nation.

Lord Clive and the ſelect committee judged it neceſſary to obtain a grant of theſe revenues to the company, and they were accordingly ſurrendered by treaty. "By this acquiſition of the Dewanny," ſay the ſelect committee in their letter to the court of directors, "your poſſeſſions and "influence are rendered permanent and ſecure, ſince no future Nabob "will either have power or riches ſufficient to attempt your overthrow, "by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions muſt hence-"forward be at an end, as there will be no fund for ſecret ſervices, for "donations, or for reſtitutions. The Nabob cannot anſwer the expecta-"tions of the venal and mercenary, nor will the company comply with "demands injurious to themſelves out of their own revenues †."

The impolitic arrangement of affairs was among the leaſt evils of the company's ſituation, antecedent to lord Clive's arrival. The diſſolution of government in Calcutta kept pace with that of the country. A general contempt of ſuperiors, a habit of equality among all orders of men had obliterated every idea of ſubjection. To reclaim men from diſſipation, to revive a general ſpirit of induſtry, to lead the minds of all from gaudy dreams of ſudden-acquired wealth to a patient expectation of growing fortunes, were no leſs difficult in execution than neceſſary to the exiſtence of the company. Large ſums of money, obtained by various means, had enabled many gentlemen to return to Europe. This cauſe, ſuperadded to the maſſacre of Patna, occaſioned a very quick ſucceſſion in the ſervice, which encouraged

* Appendix, No. 52.
† Appendix, p. 8.

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a froward ſpirit of independency, and produced a total contempt of public orders, whenever obedience was found incompatible with private intereſt. To check ſuch impatient hopes, where youths aſpired to the government of countries at an age ſcarcely adequate to the management of private affairs, four gentlemen being called from Madraſs, were admitted into council. The univerſal diſcontent among the civil ſervants, which had ariſen from the late meaſures, reſtraining the power of individuals, was hereby greatly encreaſed; and united with the mutinous ſpirit of the military officers, broke forth the following year into a flame, which threatened deſtruction to the Engliſh empire in Bengal.

This event, though among the tranſactions of a later period, may not improperly be here explained. The military in Bengal had for ſeveral years enjoyed an indulgence beyond thoſe in the other ſettlements of the company, which firſt aroſe from the bounty of the Subahdar, when they were employed in his ſervice. By the advice of an officer, who had long commanded the company's troops upon the coaſt of Coromandel, with great reputation to himſelf, and honour to the nation, repreſenting this extraordinary allowance as deſtructive of diſcipline, the directors in their public letters had frequently ordered the double batta* to be withdrawn. Such directions in a ſettlement, where all idea of ſubordination was loſt, and where the conduct of the ſuperior ſervants, reſpecting their own intereſts, could ill be reconciled with a rigid exaction of obedience to the company's commands in others, produced little effect. One feeble effort was made, but a remonſtrance from the military induced a ready ſubmiſſion on the part of the governor and council. The ſelect committee very juſtly conceiving, that a regard to private intereſt would not juſtify a diſobedience to the † poſitive injunction of their ſuperiors, reſolved to carry the meaſure into immediate execution. The reduction of batta, if right in itſelf,

* A repetition of this command was among the particular inſtructions to lord Clive in 1764.

† Under the eſtabliſhment of this double batta, a captain's commiſſion produced little ſhort of one thouſand pounds per annum; when reduced, it was worth from ſix hundred and fifty to ſeven hundred pounds, as appeared upon the action of captain Parker againſt lord Clive.

was peculiarly proper at this time, an ample fund being just provided by the establishment of lord Clive, for the support of invalids, and the widows of officers who died in the service, at the same time that the admittance of field-officers to a share in the salt society opened a reasonable prospect of easy fortunes to those whose rank intitled them to such an expectation. No sooner were the orders issued for effecting this reduction, than frequent meetings were held among the officers, a regular correspondence established between the three brigades, into which the whole army had been divided; and a combination formed to compel a submission to their demands by a general resignation of all their commissions. They bound themselves by the most solemn oath to secrecy, engaging under the same sanction to preserve by force the life of any officer, whom the rigour of a court-martial might condemn to death. Each man entered into a bond to resign his commission under the penalty of five hundred pounds; and that every inducement to a recantation of these engagements might be effectually removed, a sum, said to be eighteen thousand pounds, was subscribed for the unfortunates who should not be restored, each officer contributing according to his respective rank. Desirous of uniting their cause with that of all who opposed the present government, they corresponded with many on the civil establishment in Calcutta, and received large promises of support likewise from this quarter. Such inviolable secrecy did the officers observe, that a letter from sir Robert Fletcher to lord Clive, dated a few days before the resignation, brought the first intelligence of a conspiracy, which had for its object the dissolution of our army, and consequent annihilation of the English power in Bengal. A discovery of this plot on the eve of its execution, affording no time for delay, lord Clive and two other members of the select committee, then at Muxadavad, hastily assembled. Judging it impossible to concede the point in dispute, without surrendering the government into the hands of mutineers, they instantly determined to persevere in such vigorous measures as the situation of affairs demanded.

At Mongheer, where the plan had been formed, the European soldiers actually took to their arms; but by the assistance of some superior officers, who, upon the first intelligence, hastened to join the brigade, and by a prudent

prudent difpofition of two companies of black troops, whofe fidelity had been previoufly fecured, the mutiny was happily fuppreffed. By a diftribution of honorary rewards to the non-commiffioned officers, by an artful commendation of the black commandants, and a fmall advance of pay for two months, the troops were brought to a proper fenfe of their duty; and the confederate officers, who encamped at a little diftance to await the event, were compelled to depart for Calcutta. The attachment of this brigade being confirmed, and a fmall fupply of officers obtained among fuch as would accept commiffions, lord Clive, with a few others, haftened to give their affiftance in the two more diftant divifions of the army.

On the part of the mutineers defpondence and fubmiffion now fucceeded to rage. All were ready to folicit what a little time before they had contemptuoufly rejected; and many of the leaft guilty, after a proper interval, were re-admitted into the company's fervice. The moft active ringleaders in fedition were put under arreft, in order to take their trials as foon as a reftoration of order and difcipline would permit the commander in chief to affemble a proper number of officers, untainted with the * general guilt.

An erroneous interpretation of the act of parliament for punifhing mutiny and defertion in India, fuggefted a doubt refpecting the jurifdiction of a court-martial, which probably preferved many delinquents from a fentence of death. The act fubjects thofe to martial law, who have *contracted* to ferve the company, and it was conceived that the bare acceptance of a commiffion formed no *contract*, but that this could only be done by *an exprefs engagement to ferve* for a limited time, or *an actual receipt of pay*. Some punifhments of an ignominious nature were inflicted;

* Mr. Bolts afferts that Mr. Parker failed in his action principally, becaufe it did not appear that lord Clive knew of his confinement. The contrary is notorioufly true, and was fully proved upon the trial by written evidence, and by the teftimony of lord Clive's fecretary. But the counfel defpairing of fuccefs upon the avowed merits, laboured to affect lord Clive with a wilful unneceffary delay of the trial, and prolongation of captain Parker's confinement. This delay was explained in the manner above mentioned. If Mr. Bolts will mifreprefent a trial in England, at which many were prefent, what account may we expect of affairs in a remote country like India?

 but

but the court, distrusting their own authority, would not venture to touch the lives of the offending parties. The sentences passed upon individuals were severally confirmed. Yet the governor and council thought it unsafe to permit the residence of military men in India, who now became desperate by the failure of their enterprize. Such therefore as had not been restored to the service, were directed to depart for Europe. Had these gentlemen been willing to enter into a verbal engagement, no violence would have been used; but obstinately refusing to comply, a military guard surrounded their habitations until they chose to surrender; when they were conducted on board the company's ships under sailing orders for England *.

The reader may perhaps think that an evasive defence was a real aggravation of guilt. These gentlemen however chose again to agitate the question of jurisdiction; and the support of a party spirit gave every advantage to the cause, which industry, united with eloquence, could afford. Two cases were selected, which from peculiar circumstances of hardships were deemed the most proper subjects of declamation before a jury. Two actions were commenced against lord Clive in the court of king's bench. In both the plaintiffs failed. It was here admitted, that the acceptance of a commission formed an indefinite contract with the company: but the counsel argued that this might be determined at the will of either party, and being determined by the resignation of the officers, no jurisdiction remained to the court martial. They forgot that even civil relations could not be dissolved by one party without a reasonable notice, proportioned to the nature of that service in which he was engaged. That the British legislature had adopted a distinction formed by the common sense of mankind, and had drawn yet closer the ties of military subjection. They overlooked that necessity, which induced the free citizen of Greece and

* These are the transactions which the narratives, published in Mr. Bolts his Appendix, represent. These narratives, when stripped of their declamation and illiberal invective, only prove that some of the officers were so obstinate as to live several days amidst their own filth rather than surrender; that ten of a grand jury, as absurd as themselves, were disposed to indict the president and council; and that after various expedients had been tried, they were obliged to pursue their voyage to England.

Rome

Rome to forego his independence, and ſubmit his life to the arbitrary will of a man, to whom at home he was equal, whom perhaps he himſelf had commanded in a former campaign. In ſhort, they contended that inferior officers might diſband an army, whenever they individually thought fit to retire.

The very idea of military ſubordination is by a rigid diſcipline to combine the force of numbers, and create an habitual implicit ſubmiſſion of the ſtrength of many to the inſtantaneous direction of one mind. This principle, by which the real ſeverity and apparent cruelty of martial law can alone be juſtified, might perhaps have authoriſed an opinion, that no officer can ever reſign without the expreſs permiſſion of his commander. The four judges of the court of king's bench, unwilling to decide more than the particular cauſe required, eſtabliſhed by their unanimous judgment this poſition: "That a military officer in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company has not a right to reſign his commiſſion at all times, and under all circumſtances whatſoever, whenever he pleaſes." The application of this maxim to the particular caſe, proved, that, if it was not lawful to reſign *under all circumſtances*, it could not be permitted under a combination with others to diſtreſs his employers, which Mr. Juſtice Yeates declared to be "highly criminal, and that a legal obligation could not be diſſolved by "an illegal act."

The reader will, in the relation here given, diſcover the riſe, motives, and temper of that party, who, forgetting their former opinion both of men and things, have laboured to miſrepreſent the conduct of thoſe, whoſe greateſt crime appears to have been a continual unremitting oppoſition to the intereſted deſigns of others. "Two paths," ſays lord Clive in his letter to the directors, "were evidently open to me, the one ſmooth and "ſtrewed with abundance of rich advantages, that might eaſily be "picked up, the other untrodden, and every ſtep oppoſed with obſtacles." A paſſive conduct, he ſays, might have been "attended with the uſual "douceur, of ſharing largely with the reſt of the gentlemen in all do-"nations, perquiſites, &c. ariſing from the abſolute government and "diſpoſal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom." He adds,

adds, "the ſettlement in general would thus have been my friends, and "only the natives of the country my enemies." His lordſhip and the ſelect committee choſe the honourable part, to encounter the odium of a whole ſettlement in diſcharge of what they deemed their public duty. And we may ſafely pronounce, that it muſt have been at leaſt their intention, expoſed as their conduct was to the jealous eyes of diſappointed men, to tread warily in the path which they had choſen.

Let us now return to take a view of the meaſures purſued in ſupporting that weight of power and influence, which the company had at length obtained. The reader will recollect, that by the treaty concluded before lord Clive's arrival, the government of the Nabob was completely ſubjected to the Engliſh council at Calcutta. To uphold our authority was become the only means of ſafety. Yet a farther advance to the actual immediate exerciſe of dominion was little leſs impracticable. The number of civil ſervants was ſcarcely adequate to the neceſſary accumulation of the company's buſineſs, much leſs could they have filled the various departments of the ſtate. Unacquainted with the genius or manners of the inhabitants, their laws, or the power of their magiſtrates, the Engliſh were little qualified for the taſk of government. How could we make the ſordid intereſts of the trader conſiſtent with that unbiaſſed integrity, that candid humane exerciſe of power, which muſt reconcile the natives to a new dominion? In whom reſided the authority which could effectually controul them? or give a legal exiſtence to ſo abſurd a ſyſtem? The delegates of a company, poſſeſſing no right of legiſlation, might indeed have overturned the then ſubſiſting government, but never could have ſubſtituted any other in its room. This ſubject will receive a farther diſcuſſion when we proceed to conſider the impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh laws, and the nature of thoſe regulations, which parliament *may*, and parliament alone *can* eſtabliſh in Bengal. The ſelect committee found the whole adminiſtration veſted by treaty in one man, removeable indeed upon the repreſentation, or rather command of the council. No perſonal objection could be made to Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by his ability and induſtry well deſerved his ſtation. Yet by an uncontrouled exerciſe of power he became little leſs than a Subahdar: and had fear, jealouſy, or ambition

tempted

tempted him to transgress the bounds prescribed, the support, controul, or removal of such a minister might have been a constant source of intrigue, if not of corruption. The select committee therefore associated * Roy Dulub, and Jugget † Seet with Mahomed Reza Cawn. A resident at the court of the Subahdar was also appointed, one of the higher servants of the company, whose duty consisted in superintending the conduct of the ministers, and reporting their transactions to the governor and council.

* This man was one of those, to whom the English faith had been pledged for the preservation of his life and honour. During the first government of Meer Jaffier, he was in a considerable command, but being dispossessed by the jealousy of his master, he claimed the English protection, under which he afterwards resided at Calcutta. He was the single man connected with the English, who did not perish during Meer Cossim's short government.

† This Jugget Seet was the son of one of the Seets, two brothers who were destroyed by Cossim for their supposed attachment to the English.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Diſorders in the Collection of the Revenues of Bengal before they belonged to the English East India Company, and the Cauſes which impeded a Reformation.

THE ſubject of revenues in Bengal is from various cauſes involved in a confuſion, which affords little hopes of giving the reader a clear comprehenſive knowledge, or indeed of conveying much real information. Different writers agree in nothing, but unmeaning declamation in praiſe of governments, which they have never known, and general invectives againſt men, with whoſe motives and ſituation they were as little acquainted. It can however with certainty be affirmed, that the diſorder and diſtreſs, under which the country yet labours, have their origin in the frequent revolutions, which followed the diſſolution of the Mogul empire, the chaos in which all rights of magiſtrates and people were conſequently loſt, and in the unnatural preſſure of inſatiable demands from Europe; not in the miſconduct of men entruſted with the company's affairs.

The formal arrangement and apparent order of the Mogul empire, beautiful in its ſimplicity upon paper, is apt to charm the imagination, and miſlead the judgment of men, unaccuſtomed to contemplate their own ſpecies, or to trace the operations of the human mind under ſyſtems more favourable to its growing improvement. Accordingly this golden age has been painted in ſuch glowing colours, as would almoſt tempt one to place the ſuggeſtions of fancy amidſt the materials of hiſtory. The authors however ſometimes forget their high tone of ſpeculation, and condeſcend to relate facts, which refute their own deductions. How happens it, amidſt the exceſſive mildneſs of manners, which under Indian governments

ments * render laws unneceffary, that the merchant owed his fafety to a military force? How exact muft be the adminiftration of juftice where treafon abounds, yet is punifhed only † in the field? Are men beft taught to refpect the rights of a citizen amidft the ardours of victory? Or do the emotions of refentment againft fuccefslefs rebellion qualify the prince to punifh with moderation the demerits of an offending fubject? In truth the condition of a people under defpotic power muft perpetually vary with the virtues or vices, the talents or debility of thofe, who fucceffively wield the fceptre. If we look for governments which fubfift unaltered by the perfonal character of the prince, fuch are only to be found, where each individual poffeffes an independent ftation in fociety, where the contention of different orders has prefcribed the terms of national union, and where vigorous minds, the genuine growth of freedom, uphold the authority of laws. Without fuch advantages there were yet fome caufes derived from the climate and extent of empire, which rendered defpotifm more tolerable in India, efpecially under the Moguls, than it ever before appeared in the hiftory of mankind. The fubmiffive temper of a timid race arrefts the fword of conqueft; and the people efcape a defolation, which not unufually follows a more determined refiftance. Secure, without feverity, in the indolent temper of his fubjects, the victor fears not a revolt from any national fpirit, while he views with jealoufy the ambition of his fervants. Such a fituation demands the policy defcribed by Mr. Dow, and renders it unneceffary for the defpot to delegate his power entire to the governors of every province.

While the Mogul empire fubfifted in its greateft fplendor, fupported by the extraordinary talents of fucceffive princes, a diftribution of authority might in fome fort prevent its abufe: but even here we may difcover the feeds of our prefent difeafe.

The lands were the property of the crown, and were annually let to zemindars, who again parcelled them out to inferior dependents. The

* Mr. Holwell's Hiftorical Events.

† Mr. Dow's Enquiry, p. 58. He is there fpeaking of the Mogul government.

ryotts, or immediate cultivators, might in ſome degree eſcape oppreſſion. Where the demands of government bore a ſmall proportion to the extent of territory, and where each individual in progreſſive order regarded his ſhare of the produce as a kind of proprium. This ſituation of things did not however long continue. The Subahdars, or provincial governors, taking advantage of the indolence or debility of ſucceeding emperors, and uniting every office in their own perſons, were afterwards enabled to compromiſe with the court of Dehly for an annual tribute; which a farther decay of power in their former rulers ſoon permitted them to withhold. In Bengal, during this progreſs to independence, burthens multiplied on the people; and while a mode of taxation, ſo replete with the means of oppreſſion, was preſerved, the receipts of the Subahdar bore a ſmall proportion to the payments of the induſtrious ryott. The violence of Meer Coſſim in accumulating treaſure, and the relaxation of government in the * hands of Meer Jaffier, equally contributed to confound all order, and by removing every idea of right, ſanctified in ſome ſort the depredations of hungry collectors. The feeble reſtraint of fear produced little effect; while the encreaſing neceſſities of a maſter afforded at leaſt a pretence for an uncontrouled exerciſe of power throughout every department in the ſtate. Inferior officers employed in the collections were permitted to eſtabliſh a thouſand modes of taxation. Fines were levied at pleaſure, without regard to juſtice; and while each felt in his turn the iron rod of oppreſſion, he redoubled theſe extortions on all beneath him. The war in which Meer Jaffier was engaged againſt foreign enemies, the ſtruggles of Meer Coſſim, which ended with his deſtruction, and the uſurpations of private traders completed the ſcene of univerſal confuſion.

Such was the condition of Bengal when the politicians, who preceded the ſelect committee, laying proſtrate the government of a rich province, were employed in obtaining new territories at a diſtance of ſeven hundred miles from Calcutta; and with wonderful ſelf-applauſe were preparing the occaſion of an unprofitable march to Dehly. The reader is already in part

* Meer Jaffier, during the reign of Aliverdi Cawn, was much beloved by his maſter as a brave commander; but he wanted induſtry in the adminiſtration of civil government.

acquainted

acquainted with the meafures purfued by the felect committee. We muft now refume the fubject, where they entered on this inextricable labyrinth of confufion, arifing from the diftracted ftate of the country, without lights or information from others; while their difficulties were augmented by an interefted oppofition, and every regulation of the minifters impeded by a complication of concerns between European gomaftahs and the zemindars or officers of government *.

Independent of the political confiderations, which weighed in preferving the Moorifh government, the experience of five years afforded little expectation of an improved adminiftration of revenues under the more immediate infpection of European gentlemen. Some of the diftricts ceded by Meer Coffim had yet derived no benefit from a change of mafters. On the contrary, if credit be due to the reprefentations of thofe employed by Mr. Verelft, when a better fyftem was adopted, increafing mifchiefs had yielded a plentiful harveft to avaricious men, but had rarely hitherto proved an exercife of humanity in thefe new guardians of the people. An apprehenfion of exciting the jealoufy of European nations might be another inducement to avoid as much as poffible all appearance of dominion. The committee therefore refolved to appoint a refident at the Durbar, who, without interfering in the actual adminiftration himfelf, might yet controul the minifters. When this gentleman arrived at Muxadavad, he found two of the three minifters bufied in collections without public authority or account, under pretence of outftanding ballances due to themfelves. The firft regulations eftablifhed were, that no collections fhould be permitted but fuch as were contained in what is called the annual ftatement; and that all monies received fhould be lodged in a public treafury under three locks. Thefe provifions, however neceffary, offended Roy Dulub and Juggut Seet, who declared their intention to retire. The latter particularly reprefented the eftablifhment of a public treafury as an affront to his houfe, which had always been entrufted with the receipts and difburfements of government. Mr. Bolts neverthelefs affirms him to have been appointed the company's fhroff †; but for this affertion, like the

* The correfpondence abounds with complaints of this nature. Vide in particular the letter of Mahomed Reza Cawn, App. p. 181. No. 74. and alfo No. 79. † Confiderations, p. 158.

greater part of his book, we are indebted to the invention of the author.

The preffing neceffities of the company in Bengal, and the great demands from our other fettlements, rendered it imprudent to remit any part of the revenues. To increafe the burthens of the ryott, or cultivator, was at the fame time impoffible, without ruin to the country. The only fund of improvement was a diminution of the expence in collecting. For this purpofe fupernumerary officers were difmiffed. An exact regifter was taken of thofe employed in each diftrict: and by leffening the profits of intermediate agents the people were in fome degree relieved from oppreffion, while the receipts of the treafury increafed.

The uncertain impofts upon commerce had proved a plentiful fource of abufe, chokeys, or cuftom-houfes, becoming daily more numerous in every part of the provinces. Thefe were now reduced to a ftated number, and proper officers appointed to enforce a regular and equal payment of duties.

The fituation of the Englifh refident at the Durbar, furrounded by people whofe intereft led them to deceive, was fuch as in fuperintending the collection of the revenues required extreme caution. Every interpofition might produce the moft important confequences; and the novelty of the fcene afforded a large field for error. Much information, however, obtained by tracing many frauds to the fource, aided by experience acquired in the management of the company's lands, where European gentlemen had the immediate adminiftration of the revenues, might probably have given a better arrangement in the courfe of a few years: but orders now arrived from England, which precluded a more minute inveftigation.

It will be impoffible to do juftice either to the gentlemen in Bengal, or to the court of directors, without tracing thefe orders to their real fource, in the tranfactions of the company in England: but not to diftract the reader's attention with too great a variety of matter, I fhall firft explain how the revenues chiefly arife, and the meafures purfued by the felect committee.

The

The revenues are chiefly derived from the lands, which are known by various denominations. Thoſe called ryotty are poſſeſſed by tenants reſident on the ſpot, who by their grants ought to be continued as long as they paid their rents. But as larger rents have been frequently exacted, an encreaſe beyond what a tenant can afford, together with other oppreſſive demands from his ſuperior landlord, or the officers of government, not unfrequently compels him to fly from the eſtate, on which perhaps his family have ſubſiſted for many generations.

The comar lands have no reſident tenants, but are cultivated by contract, which there are many perſons in all parts of the country ready to undertake, if the zemindar, who rents the diſtrict, will give proper encouragement. The zemindar uſually advances a ſum of money to the cultivator, who would otherwiſe be unable to improve and till the land. The crops when gathered in are divided according to the terms of the contract between the two; but as the indigent cultivator has probably ſubſiſted by means of an advance made by the zemindar, the latter, after ſettling all accounts, will ſometimes obtain the lion's ſhare.

When the ryott or farmer forſakes his habitation, and encouragement is wanted to cultivate the comar lands, both fall occaſionally under the management of the officers of the government, and are then called coſs lands. Theſe laſt generally decline much in value in the hands of men, whoſe tyranny has driven away the former tenants. By a wretched policy oppreſſion becomes the intereſt of thoſe, who ſhould protect the people; for as it is impoſſible that the higher officers of government can ever know what part is really cultivated, the coſs is a never ceaſing occaſion of fraud in the accounts of inferior collectors *.

The remainder of the lands, excepting ſuch as are held by the immediate officers of government, are divided into talooks, jaghires, and

* Theſe particulars are more largely explained in the inſtructions drawn up by the preſident for the ſupraviſors. Vide App. p. 227.

charitable

charitable or religious donations. The talooks have been in general partial grants to individuals; and many privileges are indulged to the owners, particularly in their taxation. Jaghires * are alfo grants from the prince, of lands during the life of the grantee, fometimes to his defcendants. A fmall tribute is ufually referved, the jaghiredars being free from every other impofition. The two laft divifions, namely charitable and religious donations, have been given for various purpofes by fucceffive princes, fome through zeal, but moft through vanity, and form no inconfiderable part of many diftricts. Thefe, by the terms of the grant, are ufually exempt from all burthens.

Other † lands are poffeffed by the zemindars or officers, for the immediate fupport of themfelves and families. This mode of payment affords an ample field for the exercife of fraud and oppreffion. Perpetual encroachments are made, and lands, ftruck out of the government books as wafte, are very commonly thus appropriated. The poor ryott alfo is here forced to labour for his lordly mafter without reward, while perhaps his own farm at the fame time remains uncultivated.

In the provinces of Burdwan and Midnapore, of which both the property and jurifdiction were ceded to the company by Meer Coffim in the year 1760, thofe evils, which neceffarily flowed from the bad policy of the Moorifh government, had in no fort decreafed. On the contrary, a plan was adopted in 1762, productive of certain ruin to the province. The lands were let by public auction for the fhort term of three years. Men without fortune or character became bidders at the fale; and while fome of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquifh their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, thofe who had nothing to lofe advanced yet farther, wifhing at all events to obtain an immediate poffeffion. Thus numberlefs harpies

* Jaghires are frequently grants of annual ftipends, iffuing from the revenues of a particular diftrict.

† Thefe grants much refemble the talooks, and are in fome places claffed under that denomination.

were

were let loofe to plunder, whom the fpoil of a miferable people enabled to complete their firft year's payment. The renter under fo precarious a tenure could not venture to encourage inferior farmers by advancing money, which is feldom repaid within three years; and without this advance, even the implements of hufbandry were wanting to cultivate the lands. Great part of the renters, incapable of fulfilling their engagements, applied to be difcharged within the fecond year, defirous of abandoning their whole property, if they might be permitted to relinquifh their unprofitable farms. A nominal increafe of revenue had by thefe means been obtained; but fo defective were the actual receipts, that an unprecedented general tax upon the bazee zemeen or charity lands, was now thought neceffary to complete the payments ftipulated to the company.

This untoward fituation induced the felect committee in the autumn of 1765, to appoint Mr. Verelft fupravifor of Burdwan. It appeared that on the fecond fale for three years, bidders had been found for little more than two fifths of the lands, the moft beneficial of which were held in different names by the officers of government, and banyans of European gentlemen. The remainder, under the denomination of cofs, fell into the hands of collectors, who oppreffed the people, bringing what they pleafed to account. Thefe laft with a franknefs infpired probably by a confidence of not being refufed, propofed to lay open all their frauds, and to divide their profits in fuch proportions as the refident and his agents fhould approve. The firft object was to remove thefe vermin by finding tenants for the deferted lands; and, although the feafon was far advanced, many fubftantial people readily engaged upon an affurance of not being difpoffeffed. A moderate rent was paid the firft year, a larger the fecond, and on the third the higheft which had ever before been given; the tenants neverthelefs confenting to pay any general tax that might afterwards be laid upon the whole province. The officers of government were compelled to relinquifh either their office or their farm. The burthens of the province were diminifhed; and, while each individual reaped the fruits

of

of his toil, the lands were highly cultivated and improved. The various regulations eſtabliſhed would afford but an unpleaſant detail*; let it ſuffice therefore to obſerve, that the revenue to the company increaſed, while Burdwan in a few years became the moſt flouriſhing diſtrict of Bengal.

Burdwan province, from the 1ſt of May, 1760, to the end of April, 1770, in account with the Eaſt-India company's treaſury, for nett revenues, paid in, clear of all charges.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760	1761	Caſh received †	607,482
1761	1762	Ditto	3,841,987
1762	1763	Ditto	3,949,167
1763	1764	Ditto	3,986,101
1764	1765	Ditto	3,629,789
1765	1766	Ditto ‡	3,567,854
1766	1767	Ditto	4,288,171
1767	1768	Ditto	4,149,471
1768	1769	Ditto	4,158,387
1769	1770	Ditto §	3,948,037

The ſame regulations were eſtabliſhed in the other proprietary lands of the company, with nearly the ſame ſucceſs.

* Vide letter of Mr. Verelſt, App. p. 212. No. 131.

† This year the company obtained poſſeſſion, but only a ſmall part of the revenues was brought into the treaſury, after reducing the rajah.

‡ Mr. Verelſt was appointed to the ſupraviſorſhip of this province in the year 1765, and the effects of his arrangement will be ſeen in the receipts of the ſucceeding years, although part of the lands being let by auction, his regulations could only extend to the remainder. It muſt alſo be remarked, that the duties upon ſalt, made within the province, which in former years made a part of theſe revenues, were, after the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety in the year 1765, paid into the treaſury of Calcutta.

§ This laſt was the year of the general famine.

Midnapore

Midnapore province, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760	- 1761	Cash received - - - -	116,925
1761	- 1762	Ditto - - - -	857,983
1762	- 1763	Ditto - - - -	743,330
1763	- 1764	Ditto - - - -	748,777
1764	- 1765	Ditto - - - -	590,932
1765	- 1766	Ditto - - - -	732,055
1766	- 1767	Ditto * - - - -	1,005,882
1767	- 1768	Ditto - - - -	884,390
1768	- 1769	Ditto - - - -	975,051
1769	- 1770	Ditto - - - -	902,149

Calcutta towns, and twenty-four Purgunnahs, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760	- 1761	Cash received - - -	730,591
1761	- 1762	Ditto - - - -	597,355
1762	- 1763	Ditto - - - -	486,352
1763	- 1764	Ditto - - - -	740,473
1764	- 1765	Ditto - - - -	979,349
1765	- 1766	Ditto - - - -	602,459
1766	- 1767	Ditto - - - -	801,571
1767	- 1768	Ditto † - - - -	1,116,395
1768	- 1769	Ditto - - - -	1,030,464
1769	- 1770	Ditto - - - -	1,022,845

* Mr. Verelst took charge of this province in the year 1766, and the increase of revenue may be seen in the accounts of the succeeding years. It must be observed, that during the three last years, extraordinary expences were incurred to reduce some rebellious Zemindars upon the borders of the province. These expences being deducted, make the sum paid into the company's treasury less than from 1766 to 1767; but the actual receipts never fell short of the increased rents established during the four last years.

† The arrangement of Mr. Verelst was made in the latter end of the year 1766, and the increased receipts need no other comment than a reference to preceding years. The apparent variation during former years was owing to the irregular payment of the Jaghire, the revenues themselves having undergone no great alterations.

Chittagong province, from January 1761 to April 1770.

				Cur. Rupees.
Jan. 1761	to	Apr. 1762	Cash received * - - -	728,508
May 1762	to	Apr. 1763	Ditto - - -	467,368
1763	—	1764	Ditto - - -	420,174
1764	—	1765	Ditto - - -	404,721
1765	—	1766	Ditto - - -	366,158
1766	—	1767	Ditto - - -	378,830
1767	—	1768	Ditto - - -	422,766
1768	—	1769	Ditto - - -	432,540
1769	—	1770	Ditto - - -	398,835

When the dewanny was first obtained by the company, a want of knowledge, or even the means of immediate information, rendered it impossible to correct the many abuses incident to the established mode of collecting the revenues. Many causes likewise concurred to make any direct interposition at this time highly impolitic. All power had in effect been transferred from the Subahdar of Bengal to the English East India company; but the lenient hand of time was necessary to soften that disgust, and quiet that alarm, which foreign nations, as well as the natives, might naturally conceive upon so great a change. The select committee considered, that should they attempt innovations upon the precarious foundation of opinion, any failure of success might disarrange the affairs of their employers, disappoint their expectations, and afford a plausible ground of complaint in England; where men, unacquainted with this very extensive and complicated subject, would judge wholly by the event; and where various plans successively adopted by contending parties, might, if the project were too hastily undertaken, remove all probability of future improvement. Impressed with these sentiments, they very wisely determined to assume the slow but certain conviction of experience for their guide, giv-

* This year includes great part of the revenue due in the preceding year. Mr. Verelst was appointed to the chiefship the beginning of 1761, and quitted it in 1765. This province being exposed to frequent alarms, the revenues must fluctuate more than those in secure situations. But it may deserve to be remarked that the Subahdars of Bengal seldom received more than two hundred thousand rupees revenue.

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ing their first attention to those provinces, the revenues of which had been subject to the administration of Europeans from the first cession of these lands by Meer Cossim, in 1760. The event corresponded to their views. In the year 1769, the condition of these last mentioned provinces formed so striking a contrast to the other parts of Bengal, where the oppression of the ancient government was universally felt, that foreigners as well as natives began earnestly to wish for a more extensive reformation. The committee therefore taking advantage of an equivocal permission in a letter from the court of directors, resolved to undertake this very arduous task.

Although the necessity was urgent, yet the difficulties were great. In a country so subject to revolution, infinite varieties prevailed in the government of every separate district. In some hereditary rajahs preserved the appearance rather of tributary princes, than delegates of power; but the jealousy of the Subahdars, and an increased taxation had left them little more than a nominal authority. In other parts again, a forfeiture, or extinction of these families, had established the more immediate jurisdiction of the Subahdar. Yet here perhaps the zemindars retained their hereditary rights. The greater part of the country laboured under an unbounded despotism, where the late disorders had increased the evils incident to this ruinous state. Zemindars and collectors combined together to prevent a detection of their frauds, and, sensible of their own precarious condition, laboured by every oppression to accumulate that species of wealth, which, capable of concealment, seemed alone to deserve the name of property; while a long train likewise of dependents and intermediate agents fattened on the spoils of the industrious ryott. The mildness of European manners, introduced by our influence at the Durbar, perhaps aggravated the mischief, by removing in some sort the restraint of fear.

To attempt a reformation, and at the same time to preserve the revenues entire, required a minute local investigation. Supravisors were accordingly appointed to collect the necessary information in the several divisions of the country. The nature of their office, the object of the undertaking,

and the means of accomplishing the business upon which they were sent, are so fully explained in the instructions drawn up by the president, that a farther discussion of the subject in this place would unnecessarily fatigue* the reader. It will here be sufficient to add, that should the measure be tolerably executed, the board of revenues, which the directors have since established, will find no materials can be wanting to effect a complete arrangement, and diffuse that prosperity which at present so eminently distinguishes the proprietary lands of the company.

To judge of the conduct of the select committee, and their successors, in the management of our revenues and commerce in Bengal, it will be necessary to take a view of the situation of the directors, which, without any default in them, produced orders the most ruinous to the company's affairs.

When advice of the grant of the dewanny first arrived in England, a party were in possession of the direction, whose greatest error perhaps was an impolitic prosecution of certain gentlemen just arrived from India †. Had they abstained from this act of national justice, their power would have enabled them to resist the interested madness of others; but it was impossible at this time to foresee that the chancellor of the exchequer should conspire with a faction in Leadenhall-street, to sacrifice equally the interest of the company, and that of the state.

The directors, aware of the difficulties to be encountered, endeavoured to increase their own authority by removing every suspicion of private interest in the opinions which they found it necessary to recommend; and very laudably abstained from all ‡ engagements which might lessen their influence in the discharge of their public duty. Every precaution was vain. The torrent soon became irresistible, and men, ignorant of the subject,

* See the Instructions in the Appendix, p. 224. et seqq.

† For a breach of covenants in the receipt of presents.

‡ These gentlemen had the first intelligence, and by purchasing stock, might easily have made immense gains. Their scrupulous delicacy and strict self-denial appeared afterwards upon an examination at the bar of the house of commons.

subject, presumed to act, until dear-bought experience evinced the impossibility of separating the interest of the stock-holder from that of the company.

At this time many needy adventurers hoped a golden harvest in the stock, and paying an immense interest for money, were disposed to sacrifice every real advantage as proprietors, to the flattering prospect of present gain. Those servants of the company whose safety depended on the overthrow of the directors, employed their wealth in creating votes; and some candidates for the direction, to gratify their own ambition, readily placed themselves at the head of so respectable a corps.

The faction thus formed, steadily pursued their plan; and having by infinite arts raised the public expectations greatly beyond the size of the object, they fed the common desire of gain with promises, which ignorance inflamed by passion could scarcely hope to accomplish.

A claim to the revenues on the part of the crown produced a negotiation with the minister, when a contested election for directors approaching, this troublesome faction endeavoured to enlist as many as possible by flattering the wishes of all. They produced a plan of accommodation with government, by which nine hundred thousand pounds per annum were promised to the exchequer, and fourteen per cent. dividend to the proprietors *for fifty years:* but so little attention was paid to the means suggested for carrying this plan into execution, that the revenue was separated from the trade; and such a complication of accounts would have ensued, both at home and abroad, as must have caused endless disputes between government and the company, equally injurious to the interest of both. The directors, on the contrary, endeavoured to unite these interests, discordant only to uninformed minds; and, by making the receipts of the treasury depend on those of Leadenhall-street, hoped to remove every ground of future jealousy. They proposed to give four hundred thousand pounds, or twelve and a half per cent. dividend to the proprietors, and apply one half of the remainder to the payment of the company's debts, the other moiety to be received by the exchequer. By securing a dividend to the proprietors

proprietors in the first instance, the price of stock would become as fixt and permanent, as the nature of a trading company would admit: while by appropriating the surplus, all future increase of dividend would be a distant object, and the resolutions of the court of proprietors be no longer governed by the views of stock-jobbers, or interests of the Alley. By participating all advantages with the exchequer a confidence might be established, and ministers no longer receive every proposal of directors with the jealousy of a rival. A sudden change of circumstances required many alterations in revenue laws, many new political arrangements. These would be undertaken without the embarrassment of distrust, and executed as soon as known to be right, without doubting the information received. It is not difficult to prove that had this union been effected, had the necessities of the company not been aggravated by the urgent demand of government and proprietors, and had not the trade from this cause been managed with a view to a present supply, an immense sum might already have been gained to the company and the state.

The directors had always been averse to an increase of dividend, until the debts of the company were reduced within those limits, which the legislature had prescribed, and which their former necessities had compelled them to exceed*. They represented, that it was indifferent to the proprietor, whether he borrowed to divide, or waited till the money was received in the treasury. They gave it as their opinion that the payment of these extra debts should be the first application of the returns from India, as a voluntary continuance in this excess might afford some pretence to those, who envied their present situation. These arguments were addressed to unwilling ears. A very numerous body of proprietors had little concern beyond the present price of stock. To such, an immediate dividend became necessary: and many others were not displeased to see the nominal value of their property so greatly increased. By a vote therefore of the general court an addition of four per cent. was made to the annual dividend.

* The company are authorised to borrow a certain sum upon bond, and none in any other manner. It may justly be thought that ordinary credit in the course of business is an implied exception. But the company, besides delaying all payments, had been obliged to borrow eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sum allowed, and paid an interest for this money.

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This succefs ferved only to quicken the appetite of hungry adventurers. Fresh troops pouring in every day, encouraged their associates by a new acceffion of ftrength. Heated by oppofition, with underftandings perverted by paffion, they indulged their imaginations in gaudy dreams of wealth, and already began to talk of fifty per cent. dividend being inadequate to our prefent poffeffions. Impatient of delay in the negotiation with government, they anticipated the twelve and a half per cent. which the directors had ftipulated in their propofal. Some fervants of the crown, thinking this refolution too hafty, introduced into the houfe of commons, a bill for refcinding their vote, and reftraining the proprietors during one year. To remove fo fure an obftacle to the views of thefe adventurers, no compliance was thought too great, and the whole party immediately tendered their fervice to the minifter; an offer which was readily accepted.

Mr. Charles Townfend, who, as chancellor of the exchequer, had the chief conduct of the negotiation on the part of government, was fully fenfible of the advantages which might refult to the nation and to the company from the plan propofed by the directors. Several meetings had been held, in which the whole was explained, and every objection anfwered fo much to the fatisfaction of Mr. Townfend, that he repeatedly declared, this was the fingle plan, among the many propofed, which could render Bengal truly beneficial to Great Britain. The directors were afterwards aftonifhed to find a fudden change of fentiments; and that nothing could fatisfy the chancellor of the exchequer but four hundred thoufand pounds to be paid yearly, and a total indemnification of one fhilling per pound duty on black teas, which amounted nearly to two hundred thoufand pounds more. The directors refufing to comply with this unreafonable demand, foon learnt, that others were more tractable: and many perfonal arguments were ufed, which might induce them to yield to a neceffity that could not be refifted. The directors neverthelefs continued firm in their duty.

Before this laft event the negociation was far advanced, and this fingle difficulty remained, whether, after the dividend of four hundred thoufand pounds to the proprietors, one half or two thirds of the remainder fhould

be

be paid into the exchequer. Mr. Townsend neglected the strongest remonstrances of our directors, met their opponents at the St. Alban's tavern, and bartered the bill depending in parliament for a vote of the proprietors. So eager were this faction in pursuit of their object, that they overlooked the means of obtaining it. After they had carried the minister's point by an unconditional vote of a general court, they found themselves deceived. A heavy burthen was entailed on the company, while at the same time the restraining bill passed the house, Mr. Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, dividing in the minority.

The directors being informed of the minister's alliance, produced an unanimous resolution of their court, condemning the intended motion as dangerous to the company. Their opposition was vain, and the measure was carried in the court of proprietors by a small majority.

The precedent being once established, no minister, whatever might be his own sentiments, could afterwards venture to accept, what might be deemed by country gentlemen in parliament worse terms. The same agreement was therefore extended to seven years, after a long and well contested opposition from the authors of the former plan. These gentlemen, deserted and betrayed, yet maintained the struggle, unseduced by flattery, unawed by threats. By such conduct they lost their own election, as happened once before, in the year 1763, but without the same success in the public cause: for by the first struggle they obtained an alteration in the final articles of peace, which excluded the French from any military establishment in Bengal, and secured our present dominions in the East to the British nation *.

The first attack upon the company in parliament was led by a gentleman, who talked of forfeiture of charter, and right of conquest in the crown. In short he seemed to think that no consideration of law, justice, or policy, should deter men armed with power from confiscating so rich a prize. Had he spoken merely his own sentiments, these would have deserved little attention. But closely connected as this gentleman was with

* The French were by the preliminary articles restored to all their conquests.

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the leading perſon in the cabinet, ſuch a language could not fail to occaſion very ſerious alarms. Frivolous diſtinctions were alſo countenanced in parliament to the diſgrace of common ſenſe, while the true ground of argument was almoſt neglected. Few ventured to contend that, independent of that regard which is ever due to the ſacred rules of property; the poſſeſſion of theſe revenues by the crown might endanger our happy form of internal government, but could never produce any real benefit to the Britiſh nation.

Impreſſed with theſe terrors, apprehenſive of complaints from foreign nations to the Britiſh court, which a narrow policy might encourage, every application for powers to govern their ſervants rejected, the directors ſaw no ſafety, but in upholding the Mooriſh government in Bengal; and ſent the moſt poſitive orders to the committee to avoid any exerciſe of dominion. A repetition of theſe commands was the neceſſary conſequence of their increaſing difficulties, while an oppoſing party called for new men and new meaſures, vaunting the moſt magnificent promiſes; and when a fear of not fulfilling the * engagements of the company rendered it impracticable to riſk a dimunition of revenues, which were now become their only remaining fund : for the profits of the China trade had been almoſt annihilated by the ſame haſty vote that gave the four hundred thouſand pounds to government. From this ſituation likewiſe flowed a continual increaſe of the company's inveſtment †, from three hundred and fifty thouſand to eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, which could not be effected without ſome degree of violence. An annual export of ſpecie from Bengal was likewiſe neceſſary, as from the urgent demand of government and proprietors it became impoſſible to ſupply the China market with ſilver from Europe. Thus in five years next ſucceeding the grant of the Dewany, Bengal was drained in

Supplies of bullion to the other ſettlements - - - - -	1,284,008
Goods, ſtores, bills, &c. to ditto - - - - - -	620,337
And cargoes on our European ſhips - - - - - - -	3,037,266
Total - - - - - - - - -	4,941,611

* Amounting to a million ſterling per annum.

† This term ſignifies the goods purchaſed for the European markets.

State of Bengal Revenues and Charges, shewing the gross and nett Receipts of the Com-

Revenues.

May April 1765 to 1766.	Gross Receipts	Charges, collections, stipends, and jaghire.	Nett receipts	Total revenues	Total in pounds ster.
	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees		
Calcutta and Dhees and twenty-four Purgunnahs	10,61,079	4,58,620	6,02,459		
Burdwan	40,78,306	5,10,452	35,67,854		
Midnapore	7,58,258	26,203	7,32,055		
Chittagong	4,36,235	70,077	3,66,158		
Muxadavad districts	118,96,555	35,59,993	83,36,562	Cur. Rupees	Pounds
Bahar province	18,42,700	5,01,764	13,40,936	149,46,024	1,681,427
	200,73,133	51,27,109			
1766—1767					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	11,60,378	3,58,807	8,01,571		
Burdwan	51,01,961	8,13,790	42,88,171		
Midnapore	10,61,149	55,267	10,05,882		
Chittagong	4,83,562	1,04,732	3,78,830		
Muxadavad	181,54,424	79,36,919	102,17,505		
Bahar	78,68,020	19,28,628	59,39,392		
	338,29,494	111,98,143	226,31,351		
Commission paid			1,63,851	224,67,500	2,527,594
1767—1768					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	15,63,953	4,47,558	11,16,395		
Burdwan	50,22,579	8,73,108	41,49,471		
Midnapore	9,50,093	65,703	8,84,390		
Chittagong	5,13,827	91,061	4,22,766		
Muxadavad	183,34,265	86,29,178	97,05,087		
Bahar	56,86,478	7,87,712	48,98,766		
	320,71,195	108,94,320	211,76,875		
Commission paid			2,07,938	209,68,937	2,359,005
1768—1769					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	15,11,649	4,81,185	10,30,464		
Burdwan	51,26,635	9,68,248	41,58,387		
Midnapore	10,32,478	57,427	9,75,051		
Chittagong	5,12,224	79,684	4,32,540		
Muxadavad	191,98,583	90,77,445	101,21,138		
Bahar	62,82,503	7,43,988	55,38,515		
	336,64,072	114,07,977	222,56,095		
Commission paid			9,03,290	213,52,805	2,402,190
1769—1770					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	14,91,039	4,68,194	10,22,845		
Burdwan	48,60,144	9,12,107	39,48,037		
Midnapore	9,59,321	57,172	9,02,149		
Chittagong	4,72,518	73,683	3,98,835		
Muxadavad	170,26,778	84,69,179	85,57,599		
Bahar	48,96,666	8,41,169	40,55,497		
	297,06,466	108,21,504	188,84,962		
Commission paid			3,12,803	185,72,159	2,089,368
			Cur. Rupees	983,07,425	11,059,584

Lord Clive's second government commenced in May, 1765. He resigned to Mr. Verelst in January,

ny's Land Revenues and the Civil and Military Charges, from May 1765, to April 1770.

Charges.

	Civil Charges	Military charges. Bengal charges	Military charges. Expence of the Bengal detachment acting on the Coast.	Military charges. Total	Buildings and fortifications	Total charges	Total in pounds ster.
	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Pounds
- - -	20,99,822	64,32,489	- - -	64,32,489	8,68.237	94,00,548	1,057,562
- - -	27,13,767	79,69,259	- - -	79,69,259	10,40,144	117,23,170	1,318,856
- - -	24,29,413	74,28,168	10,70,052	84,98,220	19,78,081	129,05,714	1,451,892
- - -	26,29,108	75,23,277	12,28,518	87,51,795	24,07,765	137,88,668	1,551,225
- - -	26,71,986	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,48,229	129,23,502	1,453,894
imated	- - -	75,90,169	9,13,118	85.03,287	- - -		
r. Rupees	125,44,096	369,43,362	32,11,688	401,55,050	80,42,456	607,41,602	6,833,429

67, who continued in that office to the end of the year 1769.

CHAP. III.

The Money and Coinage of Bengal.

THE too eager desire of parliament, and the proprietors of India stock, to derive immoderate advantage from the acquisitions of the Company, gave birth to many evils, which a wiser policy, and more temperate conduct at home, might easily have prevented. It has already been remarked, that this cause precluded all innovation in the management of the revenues, perpetuating those abuses which, derived from a remote antiquity, had grown to an enormous size under the government of successive subahdars. Ruinous as these were to the industry of the natives, the impatient demand upon Bengal, as an inexhaustible mine of wealth, superadded many other causes of decline to those which already oppressed the laborious inhabitants. Each year brought orders from Europe to enlarge the company's investment, while complaints were at the same time received of the increasing price of manufactures, which a competition between the French, Dutch, and English, necessarily occasioned.

It had been the practice of those merchants, with whom the Company's servants made their contracts, to advance money to the manufacturer, without which he would frequently be unable to procure the materials of his work. But as this mode of obtaining merchandize must sometimes prove defective, through the accidental inability of private men to furnish the necessary supplies to the workman, and many hands must consequently remain unemployed; it was thought expedient by the governor and council, when the above-mentioned orders arrived, to make the like advances to such manufacturers as must otherwise have lain idle. Contracts thus in part executed on one side, afforded a temptation to fraud on the other; and the workman, unless strictly watched, often resold his goods for their full price to a stranger.

The

The gomaftahs, or agents of the company, were neceffarily therefore entrufted with powers, which they frequently abufed to their own emolument; and an authority given to enforce a juft performance of engagements, became, notwithftanding the utmoft vigilance of the higher fervants, a fource of new oppreffion. The influence of thefe agents proved fo deftructive of induftry, that, before any remedial meafures were devifed at home, the council determined, at the hazard of not fulfilling the orders of their conftituents, to refume the old method of forming the inveftment, by contracting folely with merchants in different parts of the country.

Within the fpace of four or five years, the exportation of Bengal manufactures, by the feveral European companies, had encreafed to more than 700,000 *l.* per annum, beyond the extent of their former inveftments *. That by our company alone amounted, in the year 1771, to 768,500 *l.* fterling, wholly purchafed with the revenue of the country, and without importing a fingle ounce of filver. Foreign companies likewife bought their goods with money received from private individuals, who took bills for the amount upon the refpective companies in Europe. Thus an influx of bullion, which in former times exceeded a million fterling annually, was, by the great change in our fituation, effectually obftructed; while large fums were moreover exported from the circulating fpecie of Bengal. In the five years next fucceeding the grant of the Dewanny, the fums exported in filver by the Englifh Company alone amounted to 1,284,008 *l.* fterling. Indeed, the practice of fending filver from Bengal to China commenced as early as the year 1757, and continued without remiffion to the year 1770 †. Formerly the commerce of Bengal, with different countries of the Eaft, had yielded a very confiderable ballance, paid in bullion; but this trade, which was greatly affected by the troubles in Perfia, and in the countries bordering on the Red Sea, was now ruined by the over-grown influence of the European Companies,

* It muft be remembered, that in the year 1765 the French Company made their firft inveftment in Bengal, fince the reduction of Chandernagore in the year 1757.

† Much the greateft quantity was fent, fubfequent to the grant of the Dewanny in the year 1765.

who

who engroffed all the manufactures of Bengal. Such was the rigour exercifed to complete the quantity required by our directors, that the Nabob has found it difficult to procure the neceffary fupply for his houfhold, without making application to the Englifh agents.

From the reduction of Chandernagore in 1757, to the commencement of a gold coinage in 1766, Bengal had loft, by deficiency in the ufual imports of bullion, and by exportation of filver, more than eight millions fterling*. It muft here be obferved, that money always retained its value in Bengal. The commodities purchafed with bullion continued to yield an equal profit to the merchant, which demonftrably proves, that the money circulating in fpecie never exceeded the demands of induftry. Under thefe circumftances, a rapid diminution of the current coin muft neceffarily impede the internal commerce of the country, and difcourage the exertions of induftry in all, whofe labour could alone render Bengal a valuable poffeffion to the Britifh nation. Early and repeated reprefentations

* The foregoing eftimate commences at a period when the extraordinary fuccefs attending our military operations in India produced fuch riches to the company, and to individuals, as effected an entire revolution in the mercantile fyftem, hitherto obferved by all European nations trading in Bengal. France having loft her fettlements, loft alfo her trade in Bengal, from 1757 to 1765; whence the country was deprived of the fupply France was accuftomed to fend in treafure, amounting, *communibus annis*, to 200,000 *l.*

As the Englifh Company was liberally furnifhed with money, either ftipulated for indemnification, reftitution, &c. or borrowed of private individuals on their bonds and bills, they difcontinued fending bullion to Bengal, the annual amount of which ufually exceeded 250,000*l.*

The Dutch were the greateft importers of filver, not only for purchafing home inveftments, but alfo procuring opium, an article of great confequence to the trade of their Eaftern fettlements, and alfo upon account of a confiderable profit arifing to their fervants from coining into ficca rupees, in the nabob's mint, ingots fent from Batavia. They likewife difcontinued fending bullion for more than four years, and thereby deprived Bengal of more than 300,000*l.* per annum.

Even the Danes, finding they could borrow money at a low intereft and advantageous exchange, on refpondentia bonds and bills, with-held their little affiftance, which indeed feldom exceeded 30,000 *l.* a year.

Of more confequence to Bengal was the declining trade with Perfia and the Red Sea, the ballance of which, in fpecie, had been reduced fince the troubles above alluded to, from 18 or 20 lacks, about 180,000 *l.* fterling annually, to 3 or 4 lacks. If to thefe drawbacks, from the ufual importation of filver, we add the fums actually exported from Bengal to China and other fettlements, fupplying the army ftationed out of the provinces, king's tribute remitted to Illah-abad, and the fpecie carried off by Coffim Ally Cawn, the whole lofs, in the courfe of 12 years, will appear to exceed 13 millions fterling; a fum fo immenfe as will fcarce gain credit with thofe who have not been at the trouble of examining the particulars.

of

of this growing evil were made by the ſelect committee, who exhorted the directors to conſider of ſome expedient to obviate the alarming conſequences of a ſcarcity of coin †. Unfortunately the directors were ſo peculiarly ſituated, that the remonſtrances of their ſervants produced no effect. Influenced, perhaps, by an opinion of the great riches of Bengal, they believed theſe dangers leſs immediate than the difficulties they were likely to encounter by an oppoſition to the public expectations ‡. Large inveſtments from China, and every part of India, became neceſſary to defray the great demands of the company. Hence the fatal policy of exporting treaſure was invariably purſued. To the ſervants, however, in Bengal, the conſequences of this meaſure were not long a ſubject of ſpeculation. The ſelect committee ſaw clearly that difficulties muſt ſoon multiply from a ſcarcity of coin, which might prove equally ruinous to the company's commercial and political intereſts; and they did not heſitate therefore to attempt what appeared to them the only poſſible remedy. But before this ſubject can be underſtood, it will be neceſſary to explain the current money of Bengal.

A writer of reputation has here employed his pen, and added the errors of his own ſpeculations to thoſe which miſinformation reſpecting aſſumed facts has neceſſarily produced *. He ſuppoſes the *current* rupee, like the pound ſterling in England, to be the general money of account in Bengal. A ſlight attention to the term *current*, evidently derived from the Latin, would have ſhewn it to be of European extraction; and in fact the expreſſion is wholly unknown to the natives, who make uſe of the *Sicca* rupee, that being the eſtabliſhed coin of the country. This error would ſcarcely have deſerved notice, but that many ſuppoſed conſequences, which, were the fact true, would by no means follow, have been laboriouſly deduced from this miſtake.

However, "the coins of a country may be changed for convenience," this writer would always have "the denominations given to the new

† Letters from the Committee, 30th of January, 1766, 24th March, 1766, 9th December, 1766, and 6th October, 1767. Vid. Appendix.

‡ Court of Directors to Select Committee, 21ſt November, 1766, par. 10. Vid. Appen.

* This gentleman has lately written ſome Obſervations for the Uſe of the Court of Directors.

"coins

"coins conſtantly preſerve an exact proportion of value to this ſtandard "unit," or current rupee, "by which accounts are kept." If by theſe expreſſions be meant, that the unit ſhould expreſs a certain quantity of the precious metals, and that the denominations of all coins ſhould conform to that unit, according to their intrinſic value, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the ſame thing is effected by giving a certain denomination to a certain quantity of ſilver, as in the Sicca rupee, which is the ſole coin legally current in Bengal. The author plainly intends ſomething more, becauſe the change here ſpoken of is upon a ſuppoſed variation in the relative value of gold and ſilver, in which caſe the ſame denomination of value can no longer expreſs the ſame quantity of the reſpective metals as it did before. Let us ſuppoſe *pound* to expreſs a value equivalent to one gold coin, or ten ſilver coins of the ſame weight and fineneſs, the price of metals being as one to ten. If the relative value of the metals varies, and becomes as one to fifteen; *pound* can no longer expreſs the ten coins in ſilver, and one in gold of equal weight and fineneſs, without expreſſing different values, when applied to gold, or when applied to ſilver. In this ſenſe of the unit, *as repreſenting a certain quantity of each metal*, it would be impoſſible "to preſerve an exact "proportion of value to the ſtandard unit." Therefore the unit, in the language of our author, muſt repreſent an ideal ſomething permanent in its nature; with which the quantities of gold and ſilver, and the denominations reſpectively given to each, may be compared as with a known ſtandard. Indeed the term *ſtandard*, conjoined with *unit*, proves that he uſes it in this ſenſe. Here a difficulty occurs. As all our ideas are derived from the impreſſion of material ſubſtance, he who uſes a term not expreſſing ſome ſuch impreſſion, diſcourſes without an idea; and until this difficulty be reſolved, it is a vain attempt to reaſon*.

* It is plain we are not here ſpeaking of ideas derived from the operations of our own mind, which having no ſimilarity, cannot be compared with ſubſtances exiſting without us; nor of a generic term in language, which, omitting every circumſtance of time, place, &c. peculiar to the individual, expreſſes a ſpecies. *Standard* unit muſt here be the name of an individual exiſtence, or it means nothing.

Farther,

Farther, it is impoſſible that the unit, or money of account, ſhould be itſelf a ſtandard, or have any other ſignification than to expreſs a certain quantity *of current coin.* The unit, or denomination in account, expreſſes the extent of a debt. When this debt is paid in any *current coin*, according to the *legal* denomination, the obligation is diſcharged. The value of the unit (which expreſſes only a demand of a certain quantity of legal money) muſt therefore be determined by the value of the coin. Here it will be aſked, what is the uſe of the unit, or money of account? Evidently this. It is merely a number aſſumed, with relation to the method of account by tens, more eaſily diviſible upon paper than any legal coin. It facilitates to the merchant the calculation of exchanges, being a convenient medium for reſolving the legal denomination of money in one country into the money of another. Thus the pound ſterling Engliſh repreſents in accounts twenty ſhillings, or two tens. The Sicca rupee varies in value, in the proportion of 116 to 111. The natives take the 116 as their unit or money of account, being the Sicca rupee, during the firſt year of circulation. The Engliſh, to avoid fractional numbers, take the decimal 100, by relation to which they calculate all debts and credits, and eſtimate all other coins. This $\frac{100}{116}$ parts of the Sicca rupee conſtitutes that money of account, to which the Engliſh have given the name of current rupee.

In the farther progreſs of his reaſoning, the author abovementioned contradicts himſelf. He proves what no man could want to ſee proved, that debaſing the legal coin will leſſen the value of the unit, or money of account. But how is this conſiſtent with his former notion of the unit being itſelf *a ſtandard?* Thus in admeaſurement, if the foot be *the ſtandard*, taking away one third part of the yard will make the latter to conſiſt only of two feet, but will not leſſen the foot. Whereas, if the yard be the *ſtandard*, and the denomination *foot* expreſſes a certain proportion of the yard, then the foot will be leſſened with the yard, and become ſhorter by one third part. In the ſame manner if any alteration in the *coin* affects the *unit*, the *coin* and not the *unit* muſt be the *ſtandard*.—The error of our author has probably ariſen from conſidering the manner in which ſome

 ſovereigns

ſovereigns have decreed, that they *will not* pay their debts. Should, for inſtance, a law paſs in this country that ten ſhillings in future ſhall be equal to a pound ſterling; this law might ſeem to raiſe the value of the ſhilling, and to make the pound the ſtandard of eſtimation: but no ſuch conſequence would follow. The ſhilling would not purchaſe a greater quantity of any one commodity. The law would indirectly carry this import, that debtors ſhould diſcharge their engagements by paying half the ſum agreed. By changing the application of a name, it would in effect be ſaid to the public creditor, you advanced twenty ſhillings, which we then called a *pound:* you ſhall now receive only ten ſhillings; but that we may ſeem to obſerve the *terms* of our contract, the different ſums ſhall obtain the ſame *name*.

If the *coin* be the ſtandard reſpecting the *unit*, by what relation can the value of the coin be itſelf aſcertained? The natural criterion is the price of bullion in the market. But before we can explain how the value of coin will be affected by this *price*, we muſt enter more deeply into the ſubject.

All purchaſe is exchange. Among rude nations, whoſe wants are few, this exchange is made in the bulky articles of conſumption. Others, more refined, adopt a medium of commerce, the precious metals; and as the laſt improvement, a certain ſtamp is added to certain quantities of the reſpective metals, that the value of each piece may be known by inſpection. Here a curious queſtion occurs. Can a ſovereign, by debaſing the current money, raiſe its actual operative value above the intrinſic worth, depending on the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin? Independent of the effect of habit, which may make a people regard a name when the thing itſelf is changed, it appears to me that he cannot *. The ſovereign may give to coin a nominal value beyond the price of bullion, but to increaſe its actual value, would be to fix by law the price of every commodity to be purchaſed with coin. By varying the denomination of money, the nominal value of bullion, as of every other commodity, might be leſ-

* It will afterwards appear that this ought to be underſtood with a certain limitation, which cannot here be explained.

ſened:

ſened or increaſed; but the actual value of coin or bullion to the poſſeſſor, muſt be eſtimated by their effect in purchaſing the neceſſaries of life. In this view their value will depend on the quantities of the precious metals, and of the merchandize with which they are compared, and the reſpective demand for each. Now, as the quantity of every ſpecies of merchandize will encreaſe in proportion to the art and induſtry employed in the cultivation and manufacture, while perhaps the demand continues the ſame, it will ever be impoſſible to fix the value of coin or bullion by any permanent ſtandard. In fact, the precious metals being univerſally received as the medium of commerce, have an equal relation to every thing which is ſold; and from theſe various relations combined, reſults their actual value. Here the detail is infinite, and eludes all inveſtigation. Neither is it poſſible to find a certain ſtandard in any ideal point between the relative value of the two metals gold and ſilver *. Compare the two metals to each other at diſtant periods of time, a variation is obſerved in their relative value. How can we diſcover whether the one has riſen or the other fallen in value? This can only be known by the inveſtigation above mentioned; an inveſtigation ſo complex, that no underſtanding can comprehend it, no experience can furniſh the requiſite materials. Now, as the value of the unit (pound ſterling, current rupee, &c.) is determined by its relation to the two metals, it will ever be impoſſible to make this denomination repreſent a fixed and permanent value†.

The precious metals have been received as the common medium of commerce, not becauſe they are abſolutely free from all fluctuation in value; but becauſe they are leſs ſubject to this inconvenience than any *one* mer-

* This is very imperfectly expreſſed, but when we graſp at the mere creature of another man's imagination, our expreſſion muſt be inadequate. The author we allude to ſeems to conceive it poſſible, by adding to the quantity of pure metal in the coin, as gold or ſilver may happen to ſink in price, to preſerve ſome intermediate denomination (as the pound ſterling between our guinea and ſhilling) at a certain fixed and permanent value.

† While certain coins are current by law, the value of the unit muſt be determined by that of the coin. But it is plain the author intends to fix the value of the unit independent of the coin, and alſo of the price of bullion, from the propoſal he makes of adding to the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin, as the price of bullion decreaſes. The propoſal itſelf is an admiſſion that the value of the unit depends immediately on that of the coin.

 chandize,

chandize, and therefore form the best representative of *all*. They are divisible in any proportions without loss. They easily take, and long retain an impression. The quantity being small, a great value is contained in a narrow compass. Being removed from the ordinary purposes of life, they are little subject to consumption: and being now received as the universal representative of all things sold, the demand can be little governed by caprice. These qualities make them to answer tolerably well the purposes of coin; and if the man who has money finds his property to fluctuate in value, this is common to him with the possessor of every other species of wealth, and in a less degree.

The author above mentioned observes, "That if no person can coin but "one, that one may put a value upon his coining, as any artist may put "a value upon an art which he alone possesses, unrivalled by any other." If by this phrase be meant, that he may put an arbitrary value on the coin to any extent, it is not true, unless he could also compel men to become purchasers. The truth seems to be (for on a subject so obscure, it were presumption to affirm any thing) that the precious metals being universally adopted as the medium of commerce, and representative of every thing sold, acquire thence a value. Again, few persons can judge of the quality, or in other words of the pure metal contained in any mass produced to their view; and even the few sufficiently skilled can arrive at this knowledge only by a long and expensive process. In the ordinary dealings therefore of men, the convenience of knowing by inspection the quality of the metal, superadds a value to the coin beyond the price of bullion. If denominations be given to the coin nearly corresponding with this enhanced value, the people readily receive it upon this estimation, and the coin becomes current by general consent. For no positive law can make coin current at a certain value, without fixing the price of every thing which money can purchase.

Ought a sovereign in good policy to take advantage of this enhanced value to defray the expence of coinage, &c. or ought he to make the denomina-

nomination of the coin to correspond exactly with the price of bullion, according to the pure metal contained in the coin? An exact conformity is recommended by the writer above mentioned; neverthelefs it appears, that the denomination of the coin ought to exceed in a certain degree the price of bullion, or it will be impoffible to preferve the coin in circulation. Suppofe the price of filver bullion to rife: no man will exchange his filver coin for gold coin, becaufe by melting it, the bullion fold in the market will produce more gold coin than an exchange according to the legal denominations. Let gold bullion rife in price, the reverfe muft happen. Every fluctuation in the price of bullion will deftroy one fpecies of coin. But if the denomination of money be raifed in a moderate degree above the price of bullion, any minute variation will not affect the coin. The general convenience of having a common medium of commerce will uphold its value correfponding with the denomination given, and being long ufed as the reprefentative of all things fold, it will from habit, acquire a value in fome meafure independent of bullion.

I have thought it neceffary to enlarge more fully upon this fubject, becaufe the learned author referred to, has, by fallacious arguments, founded upon erroneous principles, deduced many important confequences refpecting the company's revenue, and the meafures adopted by their fervants.

In Bengal the Sicca rupee has ever been the only legal coin ftruck and authorifed by the prince. Its denomination, like that of money in moft countries, exceeds the price of bullion; but this excefs is moderated by an annual difcount, the denomination finking gradually in three years in the proportion of one hundred and fixteen to one hundred and eleven. Various other rupees, differing from each other in weight, finenefs, and impreffion, are applied to the purpofes of commerce; but before they can be received, it is neceffary to eftimate the intrinfic value of each piece, and calculate the price of the whole mafs by relation to the Sicca rupee. To adjuft this variety of exchanges is become a fcience too intricate for the attention

attention of merchants who are obliged to retain in their ſervice a ſet of men, called ſhroffs, bred up in the profeſſion of exchanging money, and aſſaying metals by the touch. In progreſs of time, theſe ſhroffs are grown up to ſo numerous and wealthy a body as to hold in their hands almoſt the whole ſpecie of the country. This ſituation of monied property has an effect which muſt now be explained to the reader.

No ſooner does bullion, receiving a certain impreſſion, become coin; that is, paſs, upon inſpection, according to its legal denomination, than a profit may be gained by making and circulating ſimilar coin of a leſs intrinſic value. To repreſs this evil in Europe, ſevere laws are enacted againſt ſuch offenders. The crime with us is accounted high treaſon. The care of proſecuting it is committed to a particular * officer; and the puniſhment, on conviction, never remitted. If, notwithſtanding this rigid exertion of authority, baſe coin is not uncommon in England, what might be expected in Bengal, where, from the nature of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the varieties of government prevailing in the ſeveral diſtricts; it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh a regular police? The ſovereign, therefore, thought it neceſſary to intereſt the body of the ſhroffs in the preſervation of the coin, and had, for that purpoſe, eſtabliſhed an annual diſcount or batta on the ſicca rupee. At the expiration of three years, when theſe ſicca rupees, then called ſunats, paſs at $\frac{111}{116}$ parts of the original denomination, they are carried to the mint chiefly by the ſhroffs, who receive them back recoined, and conſequently raiſed in value to 116, the firſt and higheſt denomination †, deducting the expence and duties of coinage, amounting to ſomething more than 2 per cent.‡ By this operation, the ſhroffs gain nearly $\frac{3}{116}$ parts upon the value of the coin every third year; an advantage confined wholly to the ſicca rupee. A

* Sollicitor of the mint.

† The author above mentioned is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that 5 per cent. is gained by a mere ſtroke of the hammer and freſh impreſſion. Sunat rupees are cut down, melted, and ſubjected to the whole proceſs and expence of coinage, in the ſame manner with bullion, a difference being made in the duties only.—Vide Conſultations, January 24th, 1763.

‡ 2 ¼ per cent. nearly.

triennial

triennial recoinage is the confequence of this regulation; and fuch has been its effect, that while all other coins are debafed, the ficca rupee feldom lofes any thing of its original purity: for the fhroffs, who affay metals by the touch, gain the $\frac{3}{116}$ parts upon *the pure filver.*

Such feems to have been the origin of this cuftom. Some writers have adopted ftrange notions refpecting the eftablifhed batta on the ficca rupee, confidering it as an abufe introduced wholly "for the benefit of the fhroffs "and officers of the mint* and revenue;" as if it were probable, that fucceffive princes, for more than a century, fhould have uniformly continued the fame regulation without a motive. Whatever has been its origin, the effect is certain.

The debafement of other rupees has given rife to a mifchief which is now become a great obftruction to commerce, and tends much to the difcouragement of induftry. As the intrinfic value of fuch rupees is found perpetually to vary, the fhroffs place thereon an *arbitrary* batta, or, in other words, receive them at a difcount fuch as they can fettle with the poffeffor. The profit thus made, being repeated at every payment, is a heavy charge on the circulating filver; and, perhaps, no effectual remedy will be found, unlefs the company fhould coin all thofe rupees into ficcas, when received in payment of the revenues.†

Silver being the only meafure of commerce in Bengal, the common practice of all European nations naturally fuggefted a remedy for the growing fcarcity of money. Although gold had hitherto been a mere

* Mr. Bolts, p. 157, fays, this cuftom was introduced by the elder Juggut Seat, in the time of the nabob Jaffier Khawn; but, certain it is the cuftom prevailed long before the family of the Seets obtained any confequence.

† The writer frequently mentioned has to many other miftakes added one refpecting the profits of recoinage, from which, he fuppofes, the company derives no advantage. In fact, befides 1 per cent on bullion, ½ per cent. on recoinage, and mint charges, which they muft otherwife defray at their own expence, the converfion of *Sunat* rupees, which are paid in at their treafury, into *Siccas*, produces a large fum every year.

article

article of merchandize, yet it appeared highly probable, that large quantities exifted in the country, which, under proper regulations, might be applied to the active demands of induftry. Lord Clive, therefore, and the felect committee refolved, in the year 1766, to introduce a gold currency; and as the firft ftep in profecuting this meafure, was to difcover the relative value of the two metals, gold and filver, the minifters and head fhroffs were confulted. According to the beft informations which could be obtained, the price of gold feemed to correfpond nearly with the proportions eftablifhed by the mint indenture in England. If this eftimation was erroneous, it had already been adopted in the gold currency of Madrafs. The pagoda coined in the company's mint paffes, in their accounts, at eight fhillings*. This pagoda, weighing 2 dwt. 6 grains, of the finenefs of 20 carats, contains 45 grains of pure gold, the Englifh guinea 118 grains. If 118 grs. : 21 fh. : : 45 grs.=8 fh. $\frac{1}{118}$ parts of a fhilling.

At Madrafs filver is a mere merchandize, fluctuating in price to the extent of more than twenty per cent. It is impoffible, therefore, to fix precifely the relative value of the two metals in that market. From fome mifcellanies quoted by a writer we have frequently mentioned, the proportion of filver to gold appears to have been as 15,49 to 1, in Auguft, 1753. Although when a confiderable quantity of gold mohurs were from time to time imported by the company from Bengal, and filver was at the fame time purchafed for the fupply of China, the price of filver rofe, in May, 1771, as 13,78 to 1, and afterwards, in July following, to 13,09 to 1; yet, probably, the ordinary proportion of the metals at Madrafs correfponded with that eftablifhed by law in England, fince the pagoda has been eftimated at eight fhillings, by the company, during a long courfe of years.

* In my experience, the pagoda has always been found equal to 2 dwt. 6 grs. of 20 carats finenefs, which makes 45 grains pure gold. In Mifcellanies lately collected, it is eftimated in one place at 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and in another at 45 $\frac{1}{2}$, pure gold, making a difference of about 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Should the former of thefe accounts be allowed, it will prove the pagoda is valued at more than 4 per cent. higher than the proportion affumed in the mint indenture of England.

Gold imported from Madrafs into Bengal always yielded a profit. To affign the caufe would be difficult, fince it neither paffed in circulation, nor was exchanged for the productions of any country within our knowledge. The fact, neverthelefs, is certain, and refts upon the moft undoubted teftimony *. To attempt, therefore, a gold coinage on a lower eftimation than that of Madrafs appeared improper. Many reafons induced the committee to give it a higher valuation. To whatever purpofes gold had hitherto been applied, in Bengal, it was probable, that a new demand for this metal as current money would enhance the price. It was befides neceffary to obtain the fupport of the fhroffs in this meafure, by making it their intereft to bring gold to the mint, as the ftrong prejudices of the natives againft innovation would have made the oppofition of this body of men extremely troublefome. To thefe arguments, arifing from the ftate of the country, may be added one drawn from the fituation of the company. Had gold and filver been eftablifhed at the fame relative value as in the European markets, the exportation of gold would have been eafier than that of filver, which, on account of its bulk, does not admit the fame clandeftine conveyance; and the gold coin might have been exported to Europe, when other means of remitting the large fums acquired by individuals began to fail. After maturely weighing all thefe reafons, the council refolved, that gold mohurs fhould be ftruck, at a valuation of eight per cent. ‡ above their intrinfic purity, compared with the ficca rupees, according to the proportion of the two metals eftablifhed by the mint indenture in England †.

Upon

* Two reafons may, perhaps, be affigned for the high price which gold always maintained in Bengal. Before the Subahdars became independent of the Mogul Empire, great part of the annual tribute might probably be remitted in gold to Dehly. Since that period, the frequent invafions and inteftine wars, rendering property infecure, gave an increafed value to gold, which is more eafily tranfported from place to place, or more eafily concealed than filver. When the Maharattas laft entered Bengal, gold bore fo high a value, that fome merchants fent it from Madrafs to Bengal, at a profit of 15 per cent.

‡ Two per cent. are the expence and duties of coinage. The remaining fix per cent. was defigned as an encouragement to bring gold to the mint. This allowance may appear large to gentlemen in England; but it muft be obferved, that the company allow their fervants to lend money at 12 per cent. as a reafonable intereft. Merchants, zemindars, and the natives in general, can feldom borrow at fo eafy a rate.

† That fuch was the principle on which the regulation was eftablifhed appears evidently from the following paragraph in the mint-mafter's letter to the board. " The difficulty lay in fixing

 upon

Upon this principle the following regulations were formed, viz.

"That the new gold mohur should weigh 16 annas, or 7 dwts. 11 " grs. 65, that is about 179½ grains, of the fineness of 20 carats.

"That this gold mohur should pass current, and be received in all " payments, whether of a public or private nature, in exchange for 14 " Sicca rupees, each rupee weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 of the fineness " of 11 oz. 15 dwts. or 13 dwts. better than English standard, &c."

The following calculations, which are rendered as easy and familiar as possible, will demonstrate, that the plan is exactly adjusted to the before mentioned relative values, and calculated on the quantities of pure metal contained in the respective gold and silver coins, each being compared with the standard and coinage of England*.

A gui-

" upon such a rate of exchange as should answer the intention of bringing gold to the treasury " without reducing silver below that natural value which it bears in most kingdoms in Europe, " since this circumstance might be productive of inconvenience at home. Gold being merely " a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very un- " certain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle " upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated. Vide Appendix." M. Master's letter, 3d June, 1766—Yet merely upon the authority of an inaccurate expression in Article 4. of this letter, is the plan supposed to have been calculated on the proportion of 14, instead of 15⅐ to 1, which difference constitutes the extraordinary advanced price, stated by the writer of the principles of money, not less than 9½ per cent.

* Abstract of the mint indenture in England.

" By this indenture the mint master contracts to make five sorts of gold monies, viz. quar- " ter-guineas, half-guineas, guinea, two guinea, and five guinea pieces, to be in fineness 22 " carats pure gold, with two carats alloy, and after the rate of 44½ guineas to the Troy pound " Weight.

" This will be, in every such pound weight, either
" 178 quarter-guineas,
" 89 half-guineas,
" 44½ guineas,
" 22 two guineas, and one half-guinea,
" 9 five guineas, wanting the weight of half a guinea.

" Now as money cannot be made in all things exactly conformable to the standard, but may " differ from it in weight, in fineness, or in both; so it is agreed that one sixth of a carat, " which is equal to 40 Troy grains, be allowed as *remedy* for the master on every pound weight " of gold monies, with an additional remedy of half a Troy Grain in every four quarter-gui- " neas, because these cannot be made so exact as larger pieces.

" The mint master also contracts to make eight sorts of silver monies, viz.
" 12 crowns and two shillings,

" 24

A guinea, twenty-two carats fine, containing by ſtatute one hundred and eighteen grains of pure gold, is rated by act of parliament and mint indenture at twenty-one ſhillings. A gold mohur twenty carats fine, and weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 contains one hundred and fifty grains of pure gold. †

grs. Sh. grs.		
Q. If 118 : 21 : : 150 - -	26	$8\frac{1}{4}$
And 8 per Cent. increaſed price,	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Sh.	28	$9\frac{1}{2}$

Such will be the produce of the gold mohur, according to the proportions before eſtabliſhed by relation to the mint indenture. Let us now ſee what will be the produce, by the ſame rule, of the ſilver allowed in exchange.

The regulation by ſtatute of ſilver in England is, that a pound, or 12 ounces Troy, of Engliſh ſtandard, ſhall contain 5328 grains of pure ſilver, and that this pound ſhall produce 62 ſhillings of ſtandard money.

The pound Troy of Sicca rupee ſilver 13 dwts. better than Engliſh ſtandard, contains 5640 grains of pure ſilver.

grs. Sh. grs.
Q. If 5328 : 62 : : 5640 65 $7\frac{1}{2}$

" 24 half-crowns and two ſhillings,
" 62 ſhillings.
" 124 half ſhillings, or ſix pences, &c. &c. to be in fineneſs 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine ſilver, and " 18 dwts. of alloy, and after the rate of three pounds and two ſhillings (62 ſhillings) to the " Troy pound weight.

" The *remedy* allowed for the maſter in ſilver coin is 2 dwts. or 48 grains Troy, on every " pound weight, for the ſame reaſons as before mentioned. The remedy both on gold and " ſilver coins is to include the exceſs or defect both of weight and fineneſs, and is only to be " allowed where ſuch fault happens from caſualty."——The maſter is bound to make all gold monies, agreeable in fineneſs to the ſtandard trial-piece of the 4th of James the Second, and all ſilver monies by the ſtandard trial-piece of the 1ſt of George the Second, part of which pieces are lodged in his majeſty's exchequer.

† We have purpoſely omitted fractional numbers, which would occaſion perplexity, without producing any material difference in the calculation.

A pound Troy is equal to 32 Sicca rupees in weight ‡ and of Sicca rupee silver, produces 65 sh. 7½ d. according to the last operation.

	Sic. Rup.		oz.	sh.	d.		Sic. Rup.	
Q. If	32	=	12 :	65	7½	: :	14	being the value in exchange of a gold mohur?

Answ. 28 sh. 5½ d.

The comparative values of a gold mohur, and 14 Sicca rupees, will therefore stand in the following manner:

		Sh.	d.
Produce of the gold mohur, -		26	8¼
Eight per Cent. added, - -		2	1¼
	Sh.	28	9½
Produce of 14 Sicca rupees, - -		28	5¼
			4½

Whence it appears that a ballance of four-pence and one half-penny remains in favour of the gold mohur, which is to that amount better than was proposed in the regulations published by authority.

These gold mohurs having continued in circulation 18 months, without murmur or complaint, to what causes must we ascribe the subsequent miscarriage? Wherever the two metals are admitted into currency, the denomination of the coins must be adapted to a supposed proportion between gold and silver. If their relative value should be changed by a decrease in the quantity of either, a new proportion must be assumed. If, moreover, a competition among many purchasers should arise, this competition, independent of the quantities of either metal in the country,

‡ 12 oz. Troy weigh exactly 32 S. wt. 0 an. 10 pi. 29 decim. parts.

will

will enhance the price of one *. Both caufes here confpired to produce the fame effect. Notwithftanding the ftrongeft remonftrances of lord Clive and the felect committee, the neceffities of the company obliged the directors to order more than thirty lacks annually in filver to China, and their other fettlements. If, to this drain, be added an annual tribute of 26 lacks to the king, the expences of a brigade ftationed at Illahabad, and filver exported by the French to Pondicherry, the lofs of filver coin during two years muft be eftimated at a very large fum.

Neither had gold been yet tried in procuring inveftments. It was deemed by private merchants, and even by the company, too delicate an experiment, to make advances for the provifion of the year in a coin to which the manufacturer had not been accuftomed. For the fame reafon filver was alfo preferred by the foreign companies, in exchange for their bills of remittance. Hence a competition enfued, individuals purchafing rupees at an enhanced price, for the purpofes of bills and inveftments. This competition raifing the price of filver, will explain many facts which have been invidioufly mentioned by others. In Calcutta, gold mohurs were exchanged for rupees, at a lofs of 38 per cent §. In China, where all payments being made in filver, gold bears but a low price; the lofs upon gold mohurs, neverthelefs, did not exceed 10 per cent. or 2 per cent. more than the additional value †, avowed by the regulations publifhed when the coin was firft iffued. At Madrafs, where the importation of an inconfiderable

* Experience fhews the effect which a fcarcity of filver coin produces upon gold, even in England, where the neceffities of the trader frequently oblige him to exchange a guinea for lefs than its legal value. Yet here gold has long been equally with filver the price and meafure of all merchandize and neceffaries of life; whereas, in Bengal, filver alone had heretofore been the fole ftandard price and meafure of all things fold, and gold was received in commerce only, at a value proportioned to the filver rupees it would produce in exchange. When gold afterwards became money, and the mohur had a fixt relation to the Sicca rupee *by law*, fuch was the effect of habit, that the people continued ftill to regard the gold mohur rather as bullion than coin, comparing it with merchandize, through the medium of the filver rupee. The confequence was, that when the price of filver increafed, from the growing fcarcity of this metal, a more fenfible check was given to the currency of the gold coin, than in countries where the people had been habituated to confider gold and filver equally as ftandard price or current coin. See App. Diary of the rife and fall of filver in the market, p. 245, and feq.

§ Mr. Bolts, p. 205.

† Above the proportions of the mint indenture.

quantity

quantity of gold affects the price, and the council were likewise purchasing silver for the supply of China, the gold mohurs were either exchanged for silver, or coined into pagodas, at a loss of 13 per cent. including also the charges and loss upon a recoinage into pagodas. Mr. Bolts was too good a merchant not to perceive the increasing price of silver to be the real cause of this loss, and therefore cautiously uses a phrase, which is literally true. His words are these; " that the loss at Madrass, in such remittances of " gold mohurs from Bengal, had been 13 per cent. *as silver rupees would* " *to that degree have better answered.*"

The reader has seen the reasons which induced the council to give a higher valuation to gold than in the mint indenture of England; and eight per cent. above this price was the proportion assumed. A continued exportation of silver afterwards varied this proportion, while a competition in the purchase of the last mentioned metal farther enhanced the relative value of silver. These causes, aided by the intrigues of the shroffs, so effectually obstructed the currency of gold mohurs in Calcutta, that they were there exchanged for rupees, at a price which had no relation to their intrinsic worth. Juggat Seet, the great banker and principal shroff, when first consulted, strongly urged the necessity of allowing a batta or annual discount on the gold mohurs, in the same manner as had ever been usual upon the Sicca rupee; and perhaps a neglect of this advice was the greatest error in the plan of 1766. Yet the directors, having frequently condemned the batta in their letters to Bengal, the council could not adopt it in a new coinage, even to ensure success.

When the gold mohur was first issued, the faith of the company became thereby engaged to the possessor of the coin, for whatever value might be added in denomination beyond the intrinsic worth. The council therefore justly thought themselves obliged to receive the coin at the original denomination, and these mohurs were accordingly recalled.

In compliance with the general desire of the inhabitants of * Calcutta, the governor and council afterwards determined to establish another gold

* See petitions in Appendix.

coinage,

coinage, avoiding the ſuppoſed error of the former plan, and making juſt allowance for a real variation in the proportion of the two metals, ariſing from a continued exportation of ſilver. In March, 1769, it was reſolved, that a gold mohur, weighing 7 dwts. 22 grs. 773 decimal parts, of the fineneſs of 23 cts. 3¼ grs. or 190½ grains pure gold, ſhould be iſſued at the denomination of 16 Sicca rupees. This eſtimation of gold, 11½ per cent. lower that of 1766, reduced its value more than three per cent. below the proportion of the mint indenture in England, and likewiſe of the pagoda coined in the company's mint at Madraſs. Yet has the learned writer before mentioned endeavoured to ſhew, that gold was here likewiſe too highly eſtimated, by 5½ per cent. That the gold was not too highly eſtimated in the ſecond coinage of 1769 is farther evinced, by the lateſt advices from Bengal, which ſay, that this mohur has been readily received in exchange for ſilver rupees, according to the eſtabliſhed denomination.

When the growing ſcarcity of ſilver was explained in a former part of this chapter, I had no intention even to inſinuate that the price of Bengal manufactures, brought thence to Europe, ſhould be paid in bullion by the India company. This can never be done without ſacrificing our own intereſts, and rendering the revenues of a diſtant country uſeleſs to Great Britain. Bengal, like other ſubjected provinces, muſt yield its tribute; but experience will inculcate the neceſſity of moderating our demands, that the country may be enabled long to continue this payment. If the court of Directors will, for the future, be contented with an annual inveſtment, not exceeding five or ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and diſcontinue entirely the exportation of ſilver from Bengal, the foreign trade of that country may again revive. Increaſing induſtry will in time reſtore its wealth; and ſhould ſome expedient be required to palliate the preſent defect of current money, a gold coinage will afford relief. Without dreaming of banks and paper credit, ſuch a meaſure may be effected; but it will ever be found impoſſible to preſerve a coin in currency, unleſs we aſſume the ancient practice of the natives for

our

our guide, and aſſimilate our new regulations to thoſe of the Sicca rupee*.

* The following is the number of gold mohurs, coined agreeable to the new regulations, made Auguſt 1ſt, 1766, to , 1768, when they were recalled by an order of the council.

	Mohurs.
In Calcutta, - - - - - - - -	177871
Moorſhed-abad, - - - - - - -	70000
Patna, - - - - - - - - -	15274
Total,	263045
Of the above ſent to Madraſs, - - - - -	134417
	128628
Returned to the treaſury of Calcutta, from circulation,	120161
Ballance not brought in, - - - - - -	8467

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Society eftablifhed in the Year 1765, for conducting the Trade in Salt, Beetle-nut, and Tobacco.

THE internal commerce of Bengal is now become fo important to the interefts of Great Britain, that I could wifh to treat of this fubject at large; but the mifreprefentations which have been induftrioufly propagated compel me to make the fociety eftablifhed in 1765, for conducting the trade in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, the principal object of my prefent inveftigation.

Phirmaunds from the emperor had long been poffeffed by the Englifh Eaft-India company, exempting from the payment of duties "whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry, by land "or by water, in the ports, quarters, and borders of the provinces." This privilege, while the Englifh were wholly fubordinate to the country government in Bengal, was confined to exports and imports, and under this limitation, enjoyed rather from connivance than of right, by the private traders in the company's fervice.

When Meer Jaffier was raifed to the mufnud by our arms, the trade of the fervants encreafed with the authority of the company, and they now engaged, at firft fparingly, in the inland traffic of falt. Some even claimed an exemption from duties; but as thefe pretenfions were difcountenanced by colonel Clive during his government, fuch claims were at that time relinquifhed.

By the treaty with Meer Coffim, the company obtained a ceffion of lands, yielding about 600,000l. per annum. Their troops had continually increafed, until the power of the company gave effect to private ufurpations.

The inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco was universally carried on by gentlemen in the service, without payment of duties; and knowing the Nabob to be preparing the means of resistance, they treated every complaint of his officers as a fresh indication of enmity to the English. Thus the fears of public policy, conspiring with private interest, soon produced a rupture, which, after risking our existence upon the fate of a battle, ended in the overthrow of Cossim and final establishment of the English power.

Before this last event took place, intelligence was received at home of the confusion in which Bengal was involved, of the defeat at Patna of a detachment amounting nearly to one third of our army, and of the cruel massacre of many English gentlemen. The reputation acquired by lord Clive in India directed all eyes to him; and he was called, by the concurrent voice of the nation and proprietors, to undertake once more the labour of restoring order to our affairs.

The cause of these events naturally became the subject of deliberation. It appeared, that an exemption from duties had thrown the whole trade of the country into the hands of the English. This, however, was the least evil. The country government was destroyed by the violence of their agents; and individual tyranny succeeded to national arrangement. In the general confusion, all, who were disposed to plunder, assumed the authority of our name, usuped the seats of justice, and carried on what they called a trade, by violence and oppression. The Nabob's officers either fled before them, or, joining the invader, divided the spoil. The barrier of the country government once broken down, it became impossible to stop the inundation. Mahomedan, Portuguese, and Armenian, alike, nay, every illiterate mariner who could escape from a ship, erected our flag, and acted as lord of the district around him.*

* Frequent orders of the council and of the select committee, for recalling free merchants and others dispersed throughout the country are to be found on the company's records, during a course of several years, under different governors. One of the first resolutions of the select committee, upon lord Clive's arrival, (the second day of their sitting) is founded on disobedience to former orders. See Committee Proceedings, May 11, 1765.

Upon

Upon lord Clive's acceptance of the presidency and command of the forces in Bengal, he wrote the letter mentioned by Mr. Bolts to the court of directors, recommending an entire abolition of the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which, in his opinion, "concurred," with other causes mentioned in the letter, "to hasten and bring on the late troubles." He adds, that "as a means to alleviate, in some measure, the dissatisfaction which "*such restrictions* on the commercial advantages of your servants may "occasion in them, it is my full intention not to engage in any trade myself."

The intended restrictions did not take effect; for many active proprietors, when the affair was considered in a general court, strongly urged the continuance of this indulgence, under some limitations, to the servants, who would otherwise be deprived of a decent subsistence abroad; much less could they ever hope to revisit their native conntry with such independent fortunes as reason and justice equally authorised them to expect. These sentiments being generally embraced, it was proposed, that the directors should give instructions to the president and council to settle such regulations, "*as shall prove most advantageous to the company*," which regulations were to be transmitted home for the * *court of directors to determine* on so important a subject.

This motion, made on the † 18th of May, did not coincide with the sense of the majority, who very justly thought that the state of Bengal rendered it highly improper to interpose a delay of near two years, but that some regulations ought to be immediately adopted. The above-mentioned motion was therefore withdrawn, and it was RESOLVED, "That it be "recommended to the court of directors to reconsider the ‡ orders sent to

* The motion was, verbatim, as follows: "That it be recommended to the court of di-"rectors to give instructions to the presidency of Bengal to settle such regulations in carrying "on the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, *as shall prove most advantageous to this company*, "without prejudicing the just rights of the nabob of the provinces; *and that such regulations be* "*transmitted home to the court of directors* by the first opportunity, with every information which "can *enable them to determine* on so important a subject.

† Lord Clive's letter is dated the 27th of April preceding.

‡ The orders here spoken of are contained in the letter to Bengal, dated 8th of February preceding, a disobedience to which orders by governor Spencer and his council, the directors afterwards reprehend in their letter, dated 24th of December, 1765. Vide p. 109.

" Bengal, relative to the trade of the COMPANY'S SERVANTS, in falt, " beetle-nut, and tobacco; and that they do give fuch directions for *regu-* " *lating the fame*, agreeably to the intereft of the company and the fubah, " as to them may appear moft prudent; either by *fettling here at home the* " RESTRICTIONS *under which this trade ought to be carried on*, or by refer- " ring it to the governor and council of Fort William *to regulate this im-* " *portant point* in fuch a manner as may prevent all future difputes be- " tween the fubah and the company."

In purfuance of this recommendation from their conftituents, the directors finding it impoffible to fettle an equitable plan, " deftitute of " the informations and lights neceffary in fo important an affair," exprefsly order * the governor and council, after " confulting the Nabob, to " form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade†."

Notwithftanding this exprefs and pofitive injunction, it has been afferted, that the falt fociety was formed in oppofition to orders received from home. The miftake feems to have arifen from too hafty a perufal of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765. This letter, written in anfwer to one from governor Vanfittart and the council, dated the 27th of September, 1764, condemns the treaty ftipulating a trade in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, on payment of a fmall ‡ duty; and refers throughout to the confultations previous to that period, when lord Clive was expected to arrive in India. The feparate letter to governor Spencer, dated the 24th of December, 1765, is yet more § explicit, reciting part of a minute by

* This letter is dated the 1ft of June, 1764, and was fent by the fame fhip which carried lord Clive and Mr. Sumner to India. A duplicate arrived before them in Bengal by another fhip.

† This letter requires that thefe regulations fhould be tranfmitted home to the directors; but to imagine fuch requifition was intended to fufpend the execution of thefe regulations was impoffible with thofe in whofe memory the above-mentioned debates were frefh, and who muft confider this letter of the 1ft of June, as written in purfuance of the vote of a court of proprietors, in which vote the directors are ordered to adopt one part of this alternative, " either to " give fuch directions for regulating the fame, *as to them may feem meet*, or to refer it to the " governor and council of Fort William to regulate this important point." That the letter of the 1ft of June was not at that time underftood even by the directors, in the fenfe which fome people affect now to give it, appears from their letter to governor Spencer, dated December 24th, 1765, hereafter mentioned.

‡ Two and a half per cent.

§ Written in anfwer to their letter of the 26th of November, 1764.

Mr. Johnftone, which the directors feverely condemn, and then add, "We "fhall fay nothing farther at prefent on the inland trade, *till that impor-* "*tant fubject fhall be taken up by lord Clive and the gentlemen of the felect* "*committee*, only to obferve that the regulation propofed in confultations "of the 17th of October, 1764, is a manifeft difobedience of our orders "of the 8th of February*, *then under deliberation*, which pofitively forbid "all trade in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco."

Mr. Bolts adopts this mifreprefentation of the orders. Immediately after he has laboured to irritate the reader againft the falt-fociety eftablifhed by the committee, he fays, "The court of Eaft India directors *repeatedly*, and in "the ftrongeft terms, forbad *this monopoly* in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; "particularly in their general letter per lord Camden, dated the 19th of "February, 1766, wherein they pofitively directed their governor and "council to make a *formal renunciation*, by fome folemn act to be entered "on their records, of all right to trade in thofe articles; directing their "prefident to tranfmit fuch renunciation in form to the Nabob in the "Perfian language, with adding thefe exprefs words: 'Whatever go-'vernment may be eftablifhed, or whatever unforefeen occurrences may 'arife, it is our refolution to prohibit, and we do abfolutely forbid *this* '*trade* in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco.'

When the letter of the 19th of February, 1766, was written, the court of directors had not † received the plan which the felect committee had framed, in purfuance of the refolution taken by the court of proprietors. This letter therefore muft be regarded as a continuation of the before-mentioned prohibition to trade, *till that important affair had been taken up by lord Clive and the felect committee.* The reader will recollect that the trade to which thefe orders refer had been claimed by the fervants, *duty free*, under the phirmaun from the emperor; had been made an article ‡

* This date is previous to the refolution of the general court. The regulation here referred to was merely confining the trade to certain markets.

† Until the 19th of April, 1766.

‡ Paying 2 ½ per cent.

in the treaty upon Meer Jaffier's restoration; which article, although condemned by the directors, was transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah, by governor Spencer and his council. To *this disobedience of orders* the animadversions of the court apply, and throughout the letter of the 19th of February they every where speak of the claim under the phirmaun and this treaty. They then direct the *renunciation* mentioned by Mr. Bolts "of all right, *under the said treaty*, or * otherwise, "to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco," "according to the spirit of "the phirmaun." "And that you transmit THIS RENUNCIATION *of that* "*part of the treaty* † in form to the Nabob."

Another extract is given by Mr. Bolts, to prove that the orders were uniform to this point. He has candidly suppressed the date, wishing probably the reader to imagine this likewise had been received before the society was established for the second year. This is an extract from a letter, in which the court of directors declare they cannot consent to carrying on that trade in any manner whatsoever. This letter was received in December 1766, and in obedience to this order the plan was abolished. But the directors here add, that they do not condemn the conduct of the select committee.

Admitting for a moment that the directors had authority to annul the orders of a general court, without attempting the execution, it will be impossible to believe such could be their intention, when they had given particular instructions for fulfilling the expectation of the proprietors; when the letter of the 19th of February was written to a different governor and council, being throughout a comment on *their conduct*; and when prior letters, containing the like general disapprobation of the trade, expressly excepted the plan to be framed by lord Clive and the select committee.

* This plainly refers to the claim under phirmaun, which is recognized by this article of the treaty.

† The words, "*of that part of the treaty*," are omitted by Mr. Bolts, in order to apply RENUNCIATION to the plan of lord Clive and the select committee, not then known in England.

A won-

A wonderful diſcovery is now made of a deed, an unheard-of engagement among the company's ſervants, to ſupport each other in a predetermined diſobedience of orders. If thoſe who ſo readily adopt this opinion, had conſulted the company's records for information, and not to ſerve a *preſent* purpoſe, they would probably have read the whole relative to the ſubject, and might in ſuch caſe have found every particular entered at large among the proceedings of the council, 16th of September*, 1765, and tranſmitted to the directors in the general letter.

The plan being formed, and ſhares of the ſociety diſtributed among the company's ſervants, according to their reſpective rank, the conduct of this trade was entruſted to a committee, choſen for that purpoſe, who proceeded to make many contracts for ſalt. But it was ſoon found impoſſible, without the concurrence of the council, "to † eſtabliſh the credit of the "ſociety, ſo as to raiſe the neceſſary fund for carrying on the trade." The committee of trade therefore requeſt a deed in writing to ſecure to them this trade during the year, ending 31ſt of Auguſt, 1766.

Had the directors thought fit to ſend retroſpective orders for the aboliſhtion of this ſociety, erected with the previous aſſent of themſelves and their conſtituents, ſuch orders could not arrive in Bengal ‡ before the year was expired. The council therefore unanimouſly reſolved to indemnify the committee of trade, in an engagement undertaken upon the faith of the company; and as the Admiral Stevens was not yet diſpatched, "It is agreed "to apply to the company for permiſſion to renew the ſame for the fu"ture concerns, *if the plan meets with their approbation*." By this deed the committee of trade became *perſonally* reſponſible for the duties to the company, the council on the other hand engaging to continue the ſociety during one year. So little idea of guilt was entertained, that none of the gentlemen concerned have ever kept a copy; but the original deed

* Appendix, p. 249 No. 143.

† Letter of the committee of trade, entered in Conſultations, 16th September, 1765.

‡ The Admiral Stevens, which carried the firſt intelligence, was diſpatched on the 18th of October, 1765, and the engagement expired in Auguſt, 1766.

was

was drawn by Mr. Whittal *, whom Mr. Bolts fuppofes to have been cruelly oppreffed, by the fame men who entrufted him with this very dangerous confpiracy. Mr. Bolts knew the tranfaction would not bear the conftruction he wifhed it to receive. He therefore makes another † deed, the date of which is fuppreffed, to *precede* this in his Appendix, becaufe it would otherwife have proved, that a difobedience of orders had never been in contemplation of the parties. This deed *relating to a period*, within which orders were expected to arrive from home, plainly fuppofes fuch orders would be obeyed, for it contains an exprefs ftipulation in *a particular private contract* upon this event, " that any order or direction fhall be " iffued by the honourable court of directors of the Eaft India company " in England, *by which the faid joint trade in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco,* " *fhall be ftopped.*" It was not, therefore, the *private* intention of thefe gentlemen to difobey, much lefs would they have fet forth fuch intention upon the *public* records of the company, if they had ever entertained the thought.

Having thus removed the imputation of difobedience, we may now proceed to examine the plan propofed for carrying on the trade in a manner agreeable to inftructions received from home. It appears, from a review of the evils which gave rife to the firft deliberations on this fubject, as likewife from the whole courfe of correfpondence with the governor and council, that the principal object of the company was to reprefs the practices of private traders, fo ruinous to the peace of the country, the revenues and government of the nabob. At the fame time, the trade, in the language of the refolution of a general court, " *ought to be carried on* " for the benefit of the " *company's fervants,*" under " fuch regulations as may pre- " vent all future difputes between the fubah and the company ‡."

* Mr. Whittal, an attorney of the mayor's court, was directed to draw out the deed; and the letter of the committee of trade, and refolution thereupon, which appear in Confultations, were tranfmitted to him as inftructions for forming the fame. What this friend of Mr. Bolts may have added, before or fince, it is impoffible for thofe to fay who have no copy of the deed.

† This deed was executed more than twelve months after the other.

‡ The refolution of the general court is entered at length in the firft part of this chapter.

It

It occurred, that a government beaten down by the violence of individuals, in the profecution of a claim afterwards enforced by our arms, and eftablifhed by treaty, a government, which had long been trampled upon by all who affumed the Englifh name, could not again rear its head, while the fame perfons were permitted to traverfe the country without controul. The council, or the committee, had no legal authority to interfere, much lefs to punifh oppreffors; and among a people formed by nature, and by habit, to bear the yoke of conquerors, where the dread of our power increafed with our victories, the fword of juftice muft fall from the feeble hands of a magiftrate, yet unaffured of fupport. Neceffity, not to fay humanity, required an immediate recall of all the Englifh agents or gomaftahs, difperfed throughout the provinces, that the nabob's officers, in difcharging their duty, might no longer fear a conteft with power. This meafure was enforced by the moft pofitive repeated orders of the directors, who had very juftly determined not to permit a continuance of the trade on its former footing. The new covenants had excluded the receipt of prefents; while the increafed inveftment of the company, (after the dewanny was obtained) abforbed the trade of individuals, and removed all profpect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of fervices; and without propofing a reafonable profpect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withftand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abftain from the fpoils of a proftrate nation.

Thefe confiderations induced the committee to frame a plan for carrying on the inland trade in thefe articles, by which it was propofed, to recall all private agents, to form one fociety, who fhould difpofe of their falt, &c. at certain markets, diftributing the fhares in this fociety among the company's fervants, according to their refpective rank.

Mr. Sumner, who was indefatigable in adjufting every part of the plan, actually fearched about twenty years back; and the price was in confequence of this refearch fixed at the feveral markets, to which the fociety tranfported falt, full fifteen per cent. lower than the price at which it

 ufually

usually sold. From these markets it was carried by the natives; so that the consumer must purchase his salt for less than had been ordinarily given. A duty, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, was established for the company, which was increased the following year to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

Salt is made at a certain season of the year; and persons who advance their money to the manufacturer, contracted to furnish the society. As the committee of trade, by the famous deed, became responsible for the duties, it may appear reasonable to all but Mr. Bolts, that they should possess the means of performing their obligation. For this purpose it was necessary that the trade should continue during one whole year; and that permission should be given to dispose of their stock in hand, in case the directors abolished the society at the expiration of that period.

A difficulty will here occur to the mind of the reader. How could the salt be sold at the usual price, when the company and proprietors received each a profit? A duty had been always collected upon this article at several chokeys, or custom-houses. The extortions and vexatious delays of the Nabob's officers at each pass, were so burthensome to the trade, that although the Subahdar received less than what was now paid to the company, yet the merchant suffered to a much greater amount. These duties were before collected at many places higher up the river than Calcutta; but as Calcutta now contains a greater number of people than Muxadavad in its most flourishing state, no reason could be urged for exempting the inhabitants from a burthen common to all the province. This exemption moreover would have been scarcely practicable, as the whole duty upon salt to the Company was paid by the committee of trade, who became responsible in consequence of the deed above mentioned. Mr. Bolts, fully aware of this difference, estimates his prices, comparing them with former years, in the market of Calcutta. That the price of salt was not enhanced at other places, will appear by the testimony of many gentlemen now in England.

Supposing,

Suppofing, for the fake of argument, that the price of falt was enhanced throughout the country; this would only prove, that men who traded without payment of duties, could fell cheaper than thofe who conformed to the orders of their mafters. But as the price was really lower, we may hence judge of the exorbitant profit made by the Englifh trader, who paid no duty, and punifhed the officers of government if they prefumed to interfere. Mr. Bolts very truly afferts, that feveral *inferior* fervants would have preferred their former trade to a fhare in the fociety; yet the reader, perhaps, may not think, with Mr. Bolts, that *private* intereft is the teft of *public* regulations. Mr. Keir himfelf, who was fo great a trader in falt, that he employed, in one feafon, thirteen thoufand people in the manufacture, fays, "That the fociety for the trade in falt, "beetle-nut, and tobacco, inftituted by lord Clive and the felect committee, "was fo far from being detrimental to the country, that thofe articles "were not only not fold dearer, but indeed at a lower rate, during the "monopoly, at moft places at leaft, than, at a medium, had been done for "many years before, while there was a fixt price upon them, which, "no doubt, would have been of advantage to the people, had it been "continued, particularly with regard to falt." This confeffion will have the greater weight from Mr. *Kier*, as the eftablifhment of the fociety in queftion "put an entire ftop to his trading in that article *."

When the firft plan was framed, lord Clive was engaged in negociations at a great diftance from Calcutta. He did not, however, hefitate to give his affent to the eftablifhment of a fociety which promifed fo well to anfwer the expectations of the company. The experience of a few months fuggefted feveral amendments, and lord Clive, in a minute, dated 3d September, 1766, fays, "I find that the induftrious native is ftill deprived "of that fhare to which he has an undoubted and a more natural right; "nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which juftice and humanity "would, I am fure, incline this committee to eftablifh." He therefore propofes, that the falt fhall be fold at Calcutta, and the places where made, to the black merchants, who fhall have the fole right of vending it throughout the country †. To prevent the rich from engroffing, the

* Vide Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal, by Arch. Keir, Efq. p. 57.

† Vide Appendix, p. 251.

Calcutta black merchants were not to purchase more than a certain proportion. As the price of salt was fixed at two hundred * rupees per hundred

* As salt was the only considerable article of this commerce we have spoken of the society, as established for that article alone. In truth, tobacco was never bought, and a very small quantity of beetle-nut.

It will be granted, I presume, that the establishment of this society was advantageous to the company. Let us now consider how the natives were affected.

The price of salt in Bengal, has ever been fluctuating and precarious, not only at Calcutta, where the salt is first imported, or rather landed, but at Patna, which is our extreme boundary of this trade.

At Calcutta, from the year 1760 to 1765, salt has sold from 100 Arcot rupees, to 170 Arcot rupees, per 100 maunds.

At Patna, the lowest price has been 350 rupees, and it has been often known to rise to 500 rupees, 600 rupees, and even 700 rupees, before the establishment of the society in question.

For the purpose of fixing the prices of sale at the twelve different markets, established by the committee of trade throughout the country, prices current, or rates of sale for many years past, were obained from each; from some places for 13 years, from others for upwards of 20 years. The medium of which prices being taken, the committee established their prices of sale from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than such medium.

It has been above observed, that the prices of sale at Calcutta have been at 100 to 170 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds. At these rates it has been purchased in Calcutta, and thence transported to Patna, and the other interior parts of the country, subject, however, first to the government's duty, and then to many illegal stoppages, vexations, and taxes, which were at all times very considerable. Under these circumstances, salt has always been sold at Patna from 350 rupees to 700 rupees per 100 maunds.

By the society's plan in 1765, a duty of 35 per cent; and by the plan 1766, a duty of 50 per cent. was paid to the company as duans, and the salt was then permitted to pass through the whole country free from all farther duty, and free from vexations or stoppages of any kind.

It was evidently for the benefit of all interior parts of the country, to receive their salt at a certain fixed rate, rather than be subject to a precarious rise or fall, especially when this fixed rate was established from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than the medium price for many years past.

It is true that the inhabitants in and about Calcutta suffered an increase of price upon their own immediate consumption. The reason was, that formerly the duties were levied on the passage of salt to the different parts of the country, and now the duty was levied upon its importation into Calcutta. Mr. Bolts seems to have formed all his estimates upon the price which salt bore at Calcutta, without making any allowance for the advantages which the interior parts of the country experienced. Mr. Sumner, who was at the head of the committee of trade, will testify, that, exclusive of the district of Calcutta, salt was sold by the society at more moderate rates than it had been in former years, communibus annis.

This increase of price to the consumers of salt in the precincts of Calcutta, small as it was, fell on them only. By the second year's plan, when the society delivered salt to all the black merchants who chose to become purchasers in Calcutta, at the rate of 200 rupees per 100 maunds, in which price was included the company's duty of 50 per cent. and the purchasers had liberty to transport it through the country free from every other charge whatever. It is evident that the people then received it on terms infinitely more advantageous than ever they did in former times, when

dred maunds; and all taxes, delays, and difficulties, were removed, by collecting the duty from the society, the committee were enabled to ascertain the price at the several markets, which would effectually secure the consumer from every imposition.

Those who borrow their notions of commerce from countries where it is highly cultivated, under the protection of a perfect police, may condemn this last attempt: but to the minds of such readers, I wish to recall those

when salt was not only subject to the government's duties, but to very considerable additional charges, which arose from stoppages, vexations, and illegal practices.

According to Mr. Sumner's estimate, the lowest price of salt at *(a)* Patna, before the establishment of the society, was 350 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, or 1 d. $\frac{7}{64}$ per lb. English, and it has been known to rise to 500 rupees, or 1 d. $\frac{52}{64}$ 600 rup. or 2 d. $\frac{12}{64}$ and even to 700 rup. or 2 d. $\frac{34}{64}$ per lb. English. And after the establishment of the society, the highest price was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, which is 1 d. $\frac{20}{64}$ per lb. English.

But I have authority from original papers in the possession of Mr. Rumbold, to declare that all the society's salt at Patna was sold at the rate of 1 d. $\frac{12}{64}$, 1. d. $\frac{23}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{20}{64}$ per lb. which is rather lower than Mr. Sumner's estimate.

I learn also from Mr. Rumbold's papers, that the common price of salt at Patna, before the establishment of the society, was at the rate of 1 d. $\frac{11}{64}$, 1 d. $\frac{31}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{16}{64}$ per lb. and that after the abolition of the society (in 1769 and 1770) the common price was 1 d. $\frac{12}{64}$, 1 d. $\frac{15}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{31}{64}$ per lb. These circumstances are substantial proofs that the price of salt at Patna was nearly, if not precisely, communibus annis, the same, before the society took place, during the continuance of the society, and after the abolition of it, and therefore the establishment of the society, even according to Mr. Rumbold's papers, cannot be said to have been a grievance.

But there is a material difference between the price of salt at Patna, before the establishment of the society as stated by Mr. Rumbold and as stated by Mr. Sumner. The reason is obviously this: Mr. Rumbold's prices are only estimated for two years before the establishment of the society, when they could not be very high, because at that time the English gentlemen in general traded in salt without paying any duties, but Mr. Sumner's prices are taken upon an average of thirteen and twenty years back, long before the English had any concern in that trade, when the duties of the country government were regularly paid.

At Gualparah the price of salt, after the establishment of the society, was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 *(b)* Assam maunds, which is full 1 d. $\frac{16}{64}$ per lb. In the Rungpore and Chilmary districts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 *(c)* Chilmary maunds, which is 0 d. $\frac{53}{64}$ per lb. These were also the average prices for many years before the establishment of the society; but then they were the prices at which salt used to be engrossed by the *rich*, who sold it again at a considerable profit by retail to the poor. Now *after* the establishment of the society, the poor bought their salt at the same price at which the rich engrossers used to buy it, and consequently were gainers of the difference between the wholesale and retail prices. These particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the society in the districts of Gualparah, Rungpore, and Chilmary.

(a) Patna may be called the extreme boundary of the company's limits.
(b) An Assam maund is 93 lb.
(c) A Chilmary maund is 88 lb.

scenes

scenes of violence which had long distracted Bengal; and at the same time beg leave to suggest, that encouragement of industry * in the production, by an enhanced price from a scarcity, was altogether unnecessary in an article which might easily be increased to any quantity, which the society were always ready to sell for a certain sum; and when consequently salt would be purchased by the merchants as long as the commodity would pay the expence of conveyance to the several markets.

The violence with which the inland trade of individuals had been supported during Meer Cossim's government, the bloodshed and confusion which followed, together with the perseverance of governor Spencer and his council, to support their construction of the phirmaund, or what was equivalent thereto, an exemption from all other duties except two and a half per cent. upon salt, had irritated the directors, and raised so strong a prejudice against the trade, that the court resolved to abolish even the plan established by the select committee. This they did in their letter dated the 17th May 1766, not sufficiently considering, that orders of distant masters were but a feeble barrier against the united interest of every man in the settlement. They afterwards distributed among the servants a commission of two and a half per cent. on the revenues, amounting to 63,000 l. per annum; but when the general restraint of inland trade was no longer supported by the private interest and authority of the council, Europeans largely engaged under the names of their black agents, and the profits of this commerce were added to the public allowance.

The committee, better informed, foresaw the mischiefs which might probably ensue throughout the country, and the general relaxation of government, which must necessarily follow, should the council secretly engage in a trade prohibited by their employers. The letter from the directors, above-mentioned, reached Calcutta in December 1766, at a time lord Clive was confined by a very severe illness, which had nearly deprived him of life. As soon as his lordship could attend to business, the committee

* It is by counteracting this principle that monopolies are generally injurious to a country; but here the objection was obviated.

mittee assembled, and on the 16th of January, 1767, RESOLVED, "That "the Society of Trade shall be abolished, and the inland trade totally re-"linquished on the first day of September next; but that we fully express "our sentiments in our next advices to the company, respecting the ad-"vantages which would result to the service and to the country from the "continuance of this trade under the present restriction." In consequence of this resolution the society was actually abolished on the 1st day of September 1767, nor did they engage in any new concern. But as the committee were personally liable for large duties to the company, certain ruin must have ensued had no time been allowed for the disposal of their stock in hand. One year was therefore given for that purpose.

On the 24th of January, 1767, the committee wrote as follows to the court of directors.

"We now come to speak of your instructions relative to the inland "trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the blood-"shed, massacres, and confusion which have happened of late years in "Bengal. Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be "implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the so-"ciety for conducting this branch of traffic stands absolutely abolished on "the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year be-"ing formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin "to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the "execution of your orders.

"But although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to "your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade, to which you express so "strong on aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our "sentiments upon a subject, in which we think your immediate interest, "the good of the service, and the public welfare are deeply concerned. "The honourable court of directors, and, indeed, the whole body of pro-"prietors, found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and mili-"tary servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for "many

"many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, that you may "enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an encrease "of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your ser-"vants of the usual benefits arising from private trade. Farther, that the "revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from "lending money at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per an-"num; and a trade by sea in the manufactures of the country, being the "only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that likewise is "choaked up by those shoals of free merchants annually imported, who "being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in "Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India to much "greater advantage than your servants.

"Taking all these circumstances into consideration, reflecting also upon "the great increase of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden "influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce "the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges, "we adopted, in consequence of your permission, the plan of a regulated "and restricted inland trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful "services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of car-"rying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we "have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments "on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason com-"plained.

"Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will "explain to you the regulations in the original plan of the society, which "took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations "the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly, "since we are rather the agents for manufacturing the salt, than the pro-"prietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and, to "the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it could be pro-"cured when under the management of the government, before we were "admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the differ-

"ent parts of the country, under fuch limitations, that it muft reach the "hands of the confumer at a ftated and moderate price. Hereby the peo- "ple fenfibly feel the juftice and lenity of our government; and your fer- "vants, who have attained the higheft ftations, after a courfe of many "years fpent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their fervices, "and enjoy the means of fecuring that independence to which they have "fo equitable a claim.

"We are now directed totally to renounce all fhare and benefit arifing "from this trade. It muft be made over to the natives. The govern- "ment muft of courfe come into poffeffion; nor can it be carried on "otherwife than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to minifters, "officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear "immenfe fortunes upon the oppreffion and ruin of the public, in defpite "of our utmoft influence and endeavours. Thefe are at prefent our fuf- "picions, time alone can verify our conjectures. You no doubt will "maturely confider how far it is probable men will continue honeft againft "all the feductions of private intereft; and whether it may not be ne- "ceffary to ftrengthen the ties of that duty expected from your fervants, "by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy "during the time of their fervitude, and the independency they ought "to fecure before the clofe of their labours."

Long before the laft orders of the directors arrived, the committee, fenfible that abufes might grow up, notwithftanding the late regulations, unlefs the governors were wholly unconnected with every intereft in the country, recommended to the council, in confequence of the following minute, entered in confultations 19th of September 1766, that the prefident fhould relinquifh his fhares in the falt-fociety, and receive an equivalent * from the revenues.

* The directors afterwards adopted this expedient refpecting all their fervants; but by abolifhing the reftrictions under which this trade was carried on, and oppofing ineffectual prohibitions to the private intereft of all their fervants, they have let in upon the country all the former evils, and loft their revenues from this commerce.

Select Committee Proceedings, 19th of September 1766.

" The right honourable the president has urged the necessity of restrict-
" ing the future governors of this presidency, in points of trade and
" private interest, with arguments of so much force and conviction, in
" the following minute, that we unanimously agree in recommending his
" lordship's proposal to the board, that it may be carried into execution
" with all convenient dispatch.

" *Lord* Clive's *Minute*.

" Our attention as a select committee invested with extraordinary powers
" by the court of directors, has been constantly engaged in reforming the
" abuses which had crept into the several departments of this government.
" The important work has been steadily prosecuted with zeal, diligence,
" and disinterestedness on our parts, and the success of our labours gives
" us reason to hope that our employers will be of opinion that we have
" established many useful and necessary regulations. Many others how-
" ever are still wanting to complete our plan; but I doubt not that the
" same principles which have hitherto guided our conduct, will continue
" to direct and justify the measures we have yet to pursue.

" To place the president in such a situation as will render his govern-
" ment honourable to himself, and advantageous to the company, appears
" to be an object of as much consequence as any that has been taken into
" our consideration. Where such immense revenues are concerned, where
" power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and
" equity should be ever watchful, a governor ought not to be embarrassed
" with private business. He ought to be free from every occupation in
" which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest. The exten-
" sive commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics of the
" country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceedings of council and
" committee, these are sufficient to employ every moment of his time;
" and I am confident they cannot be conducted with the requisitive atten-
tion

" tion to the company's intereſt, if the mind of the governor be diverted " by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

" If we look back upon thoſe unhappy diſſenſions, which have fre- " quently brought the company's poſſeſſions in Bengal almoſt to the point " of deſtruction, we ſhall find that they have generally proceeded from " the conduct of governors, who, too eager in the purſuit of private in- " tereſt, have involved themſelves in affairs which could not be recon- " ciled to the ſtrict principles of integrity. To prevent ſcrutinies and " diſcoveries, which might in any degree affect their honour, they have " frequently been reduced to the neceſſity of conniving at abuſes which " would otherwiſe have been brought to light and remedied. The wel- " fare of this great company ſhould be the ſole ſtudy of a governor; " attached to that point alone, his meaſures could never be thwarted by " the malice of oppoſition, becauſe they would all be propoſed for the " public good, and actions will always be juſtified or condemned from the " principles on which they are founded.

" Such a ſtate of independency and honour muſt be highly eligible to " a governor; and, in my opinion, it can only be acquired by cutting " off all poſſibility of his benefitting himſelf either by trade, or that " influence which his power neceſſarily gives him in theſe opulent pro- " vinces.

" I therefore propoſe that the governor ſhall, in the moſt public man- " ner, in the preſence of all the company's ſervants, the mayor and al- " dermen, and free merchants, aſſembled at the Mayor's Court, take the " oath and execute the penalty-bond annexed.

" The conſideration I have propoſed is $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the revenues, " excepting thoſe ariſing from the company's own lands at Calcutta, " Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

" Although by theſe means a governor will not be able to amaſs a for- " tune of a million, or half a million, in the ſpace of two or three years,

"yet he will acquire a very handſome independency, and be in that very "ſituation, which a man of nice honour and true zeal for the ſervice "would wiſh to poſſeſs. Thus ſituated, he may defy all oppoſition in "council; he will have nothing to aſk, nothing to propoſe, but what he "means for the advantage of his employers. He may defy the law, be-"cauſe there can be no foundation for a bill of diſcovery; and he may "defy the obloquy of the world, becauſe there can be nothing cenſurable "in his conduct. It ſhort, if ſtability can be inſured to ſuch a government "as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a ſmall ſpace "of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without ca-"pacities, it muſt be effected by a governor thus reſtricted; and I ſhall "think it an honour if my propoſal be approved, to ſet the firſt ex-"ample."

The oath was, That the governor ſhould not, directly or indirectly, carry on any trade, but that he ſhould not be precluded from diſ-poſing of ſuch goods or merchan-diſe as might be on his hands un-ſold at the time of his commencing governor.

A proviſo was inſerted, That he ſhould not be prevented from pur-chaſing diamonds or other precious ſtones, provided he did not diſpoſe of the ſame by way of barter or ſale in the Eaſt Indies, or from remitting his fortune to England by bills, or in any other ſhape.

That he would not lend money at a higher rate of intereſt than ten per. cent.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reader muſt obſerve that this oath was drawn up not to be taken by lord Clive only, but by future governors, who, as merchants, muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſome merchandiſe undiſpoſed of at the time of their coming to the chair. Lord Clive himſelf was not engaged in commerce.

It may be proper to remark that there were only two (eligible or perhaps ſtrictly legal) modes of remitting private fortunes to England, the one by bills on the company, the other by diamonds. Every man preferred the former when he could obtain it, as the leaſt hazardous.

The company's ſervants, even by permiſ-ſion of the court of directors, had a right to lend money at twelve per cent. and the common practice had been to lend at two

and

and three per cent. per menfem. It would have been very ridiculous if a governor, upon not being able to procure the remittance of all his fortune, fhould not have had the power of lending at a moderate rate of intereft, which ten per cent. moft certainly is in that country. It is not more than equivalent to five per cent. in England.

That he would not receive any prefent from any of the country powers exceeding the amount fpecified in his covenants with the company.

It was poffible that former covenants might be evaded. This oath, and the penalty-bond which followed it, made all evafion impracticable.

That he would not receive any fee or gratuity for the difpofal of any office or employment whatfoever, the true intent and meaning of the oath being, that in confideration of ⅛ per cent. upon the *Dewannee collections*, his falary and ftated allowances, commiffion upon the mint, coral, and freight goods, and money lent at ten per cent. intereft, no other emolument or advantage whatfoever, either by trade or otherwife, fhould accrue to him as governor of Bengal.

The commiffion upon the mint, coral, and freight fhips is fixed, and belong to the governor by long ufage, and by the appointment of the company. It amounts to a very trifling fum.

This propofal being approved by the council, a deed between lord Clive and the company, correfpondent with the oath, was executed and regiftered in the Mayor's Court, by which the governor bound himfelf to the faithful performance of every claufe in the penal fum of 150,000l. to be forfeited in cafe he fhould act contrary to that indenture, one third to the informer, and two thirds to the company; recoverable upon proof given in

in the court of chancery, exchequer, the mayor's court at Calcutta, before the court of directors, or the council at Bengal.

Whether the trade of this society so restrained under the eye of a president, who, without the bias of interest, might derive honour to himself by correcting the faults of others, was less injurious to the natives than the trade carried on at present, the reader may determine. I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that when the increased charge of 40,000 l. upon the revenues, is added to the loss of duties, it will be found, that the company have suffered more than 150,000 l. per annum by overturning this plan.

To answer the arguments of every caviller, would be unworthy those who wish to give information. Facts are stated, the motives explained, and authentic papers referred to for proof of my assertions. This may be deemed sufficient by some, for so far only the public interest extends; but I hope the candid reader will not think it an improper intrusion on his patience, if I proceed to refute an injurious aspersion thrown upon the character of the noble lord, who was a principal actor in the transaction here explained.

Lord Clive declared, in his letter to the court of directors, that his intention was to relinquish his share of trade to the inferior servants. This declaration was made upon a supposition that the *inland trade* would be prohibited, and designed "*as a means to alleviate* the dissatisfaction which "*such restrictions* may occasion." The company resolved to continue the inland trade. No reason therefore existed which could induce a man of honour to refuse that share in the society, which was established for all successive governors, when a plan, framed in pursuance of orders from directors and proprietors, was carried into execution.

But it is said, lord Clive declared, in a general court, that he would return to England not enriched a shilling by his expedition. This engagement he literally fulfilled. His shares in the society of the first year, for he had none in the second, together with his commission on the revenues,

nues, appear upon the public records. These he distributed among the gentlemen who accompanied him to India; and his intention so to do was known in England as early as the 24th of March, 1767; for on that day a ballot being taken on a question concerning the jaghire, the following declaration from a friend of his lordship was not only repeatedly published in every news-paper, but industriously circulated among the proprietors of India stock.

"That his lordship has been adding to his fortune is most untrue. His "friends defy the bitterest of his enemies to support the charge. A "solemn asseveration in that respect, from lord Clive himself, was read "in court by the friend to whom lord Clive addressed his letter; and "it is now submitted to print, in order to discredit assertions which "are false, or else to remain in public testimony against his lord- "ship."

Extract of a letter from lord Clive, dated Calcutta, 30th Sept. 1765.

"That you may assert with confidence the justice of my cause, I do "declare by the God who made me, it is my absolute determination to "refuse every present of consequence; and that I will not return to Eng- "land with one rupee more than arises from my jaghire. My profits "from salt shall be divided among those friends who have endangered "their lives and constitutions in attending me. The congratulatory na- "zirs*, &c. shall be set opposite my extraordinary expences; and if ought "remains, it shall go to Poplar, or some other hospital."

The account last mentioned was delivered to the council of Calcutta upon his departure for England; and the writer of these sheets can testify that nothing did remain. On the contrary, his lordship expended more than five thousand pounds from his private fortune.

* To refuse complimentary presents, or, as they called in the letter, congratulatory nazirs, would, in India, be deemed an affront. Presents, to a certain value, are therefore excepted in the covenants.

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The reader ſhould underſtand whence this laſt engagement, not to enrich himſelf, had ariſen. The motion, in 1764, to requeſt lord Clive would again embark for India, was received with univerſal applauſe, and immediately paſſed into a vote. Some gentlemen in the direction, although they could not object to the expedition, raiſed obſtacles to its execution in every ſtage of the buſineſs. They condemned the powers to be given to the ſelect committee, although they themſelves had three months before, in a leſs alarming ſituation of affairs, inveſted Mr. Vanſittart ſingly with abſolute authority*, had given the ſame powers to Mr. Vanſittart's unknown ſucceſſor, jointly with a ſelect committee; nay, aſſigned as a reaſon for not giving theſe powers to him alone, that they knew not who that ſucceſſor might be. It was at length inſinuated, that the expedition was convenient to his lordſhip, who had the *ſame object* with every other man in the company's ſervice. Lord Clive thought proper to contradict theſe calumnies; at the ſame time declaring that he would not enrich himſelf by his voyage to India. It ſurely will appear a very forced conſtruction of ſuch an engagement, to contend that he ought not to apply the acknowledged profits of his government to the reward of thoſe whoſe ſervices were neceſſary to him in the diſcharge of his public duty.

Theſe gentlemen went to India with the knowledge of the directors, but without any emoluments from the company. Unreſtrained by covenants, they might have been eaſily enriched by trade or preſents. Numberleſs opportunities occurred; but it was thought more honourable to confer upon them the known acknowledged rewards which the governor might juſtly have appropriated to himſelf.

It has been aſſerted, that the jaghire was reſtored to lord Clive upon his entering into the engagements before mentioned. Nothing is leſs true. It is notorious, that he declared himſelf ready to embark for India, and leave his right to the deciſion of the law. When the proprietors requeſted him to accept the government and command of their forces, the jaghire was depending in chancery. By the proceedings in the cauſe, it appears

* See the general letter to Bengal, in February, 1764.

that

that a curious reafon had been given for withdrawing it, "becaufe all "cordiality had ceafed between the directors and his lordfhip." This reafon not being conclufive with the proprietors, a propofal of accommodation was accepted, and the jaghire was fettled upon his lordfhip for ten years, if he fhould fo long live. The directors, in the year 1767, fenfible of his difinterefted fervices in Bengal, propofed to a general court a prolongation of this term; and, although fome oppofition was made while the crown claimed a right to the company's revenues, a farther term of ten years was afterwards added, by an *unanimous* vote of the proprietors, Mr. Vanfittart himfelf fpeaking in fupport of the motion.

CHAP. V.

The Impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh Laws into Bengal, with ſome Obſervations on the Nature of thoſe Regulations which the Manners and Habits of the Natives may admit.

IN the foregoing chapters of this work, the principal objects of government are examined ſo far as the power and influence of the Engliſh have produced a change. The reader, who is converſant with the hiſtories of more ſettled ſtates, will not be greatly ſurpriſed if ſome errors ſhould appear, and will judge with temper the conduct of men, who, compelled by neceſſity, have acted in a new ſcene, unaided by experience. If in Great Britain, where the form of our government has grown up to maturity in the courſe of ſeveral ages; where the power of each magiſtrate has undergone frequent diſcuſſions from the united wiſdom of ſucceſſive generations; where all authority is committed to the hands of men formed by education for their ſeveral ſtations, and where the effects of its exertion may be traced in our hiſtory; if, in a country like this, we are perpetually alarmed with ſuppoſed invaſions of our rights, and frightful pictures of encreaſing deſpotiſm are daily held forth to terrify the people, what a portrait might the dulleſt imagination exhibit of Bengal? By minds open to ſuch impreſſions, little regard will be had to the different manners and habits of a people; to the enterpriſing Mahomedan or Armenian oppoſed to the gentle native of India; to the condition of conquerors living amidſt a timid and ſubmiſſive race, like ſoldiers unreſtrained by diſcipline; of men clamorouſly demanding the protection of laws ill underſtood and worſe applied, where intereſt and paſſion unite to confound all order, and where lordly traders, impatient of controul, hope to gratify their own ſordid avarice in the general wreck. Such conſiderations will have little weight with many readers, who will eſtimate our conduct in the government of Bengal by the rigid letter of thoſe laws, which the more perfect polity of Great

Great Britain can alone admit. Without examining my own conduct by rules which I do not underſtand, and which were not formed for the ſcene in which I acted, it will fully ſatisfy my ambition, if to the candid and diſpaſſionate I ſhall appear to have purſued the intereſts of my employers, to have reſpected the rights of others, and to have deſerved the character of an honeſt man.

When lord Clive arrived in Bengal, in the year 1765, the Engliſh had gradually advanced to that point, which rendered a continuance of their former ſyſtem impoſſible. The principles upon which the ſubſequent change was conducted, the reader will examine by the motives which our ſituation at that time ſuggeſted; and, if he wiſhes to form a juſt judgment, will attend to the whole affairs of the company, both at home and abroad. I have here given a plain and artleſs narration of our tranſactions, and might now diſmiſs the ſubject, but that, after the experience of more than twenty years, I feel myſelf inſtigated to reſiſt thoſe wild opinions, which probably have ariſen from ignorance of the country. To demonſtrate the impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh laws, or, indeed, any new ſyſtem, will not be difficult. To point out thoſe alterations in government, by which it may be poſſible to connect the welfare of Bengal with the intereſt of Great Britain, is a more arduous taſk. I ſhall attempt the latter part with extreme diffidence and diſtruſt, ſince our own experience is yet very imperfect, and that of other nations can afford little aſſiſtance.

Men well verſed in hiſtory too often imbibe not the ſpirit of nations. They trace not the various means by which the minds of a people gradually unfold to civilization, by which men are moulded for the reception of laws. They regard not the ſlow growth of thoſe opinions, which can alone give effect to limitations of power in the magiſtrate, but would tranſplant in an inſtant a ſyſtem of laws eſtabliſhed in this country by the progreſſive experience of ages, and impoſe it on a diſtant people whoſe religion, whoſe cuſtoms, whoſe habits of thinking, and manner of life equally prohibit the attempt.

 Theſe

These are not errors of the vulgar. The philosopher here only miftakes. Afk the peafant his right to a field; his father enjoyed it before him. Let a clown be flightly beaten for a trefpafs, whom an action at law would have ruined: he underftands not the trial by jury, or the relation it bears to our government; yet he complains of arbitrary violence, and his caufe is efpoufed by his neighbours, as little informed as himfelf.

This fpirit, this opinion of right, which gives force and effect to our laws, is matured by age, and tranfmitted from father to fon, like the fubjects to which it relates. If the northern nations who broke in upon the Roman empire could not relifh thofe beauties of art which are the immediate objects of fenfe, how can a people receive even beneficial provifions, which have no exiftence but in the mind, are known but by their effect, and which experience alone can approve? Intricate laws among a rude people may, like refinements in religion, be ufeful to men entrufted with the facred depofit. The more anxious the care of the legiflator, the more complex the limitations of power, the more occafions of abufe will occur. Lawyers, like the priefts of old, will judge of the duties of men by the interefts of their own order, and the oppreffed fubject will feel the inftitution a burthen without reaping the fmalleft advantage. Even fuppofing men of enlightened minds and tried integrity to prefide, their influence will fcarcely be felt. The dread of the Englifh name has proved a plentiful fource of oppreffion in the hands of private men. Shall we add a complicated fyftem of laws to impofe on a timid and indolent race? Who will underftand his rights? Who will apply to our courts for redrefs? Thus to leffen the powers of government, muft we fly to anarchy, and render every Englifh gomaftah the interpreter of his own claims? There are fome notions of juftice not confined to time and place, derived from the neceffary intercourfe of men, and common to every clime. Thefe are the foundations of all government, and from fuch fimple beginnings muft our fabrick be reared. To render all rights plain and fimple, to remove rather the occafion than means of oppreffion, and to enforce a prompt adminiftration of juftice, according to the primary laws of all nations, can alone be fafely attempted.

This

This subject deserves a fuller discussion. Let us therefore descend somewhat into detail. Personal contracts form a considerable title in every code; and here different nations approach nearest to each other. Our law of contracts is greatly borrowed from the civil law, which has been adopted with some little variation by all the other nations of Europe. The commentaries upon the Koran, as far as they regard matters of contract, are, I am told, chiefly derived from the same law, established in the Greek empire, and are received, subject to the arbitrary will of the prince and his officers, wherever the Mahomedan religion prevails.

The truth is, that there can be little diversity, where all men have the same intention, and express it nearly in the same manner. No sooner do mutual necessities beget an exchange of commodities, than the nature of a sale is perfectly understood. If I relinquish my horse, and accept the price, in no quarter of the world can this simple transaction be mistaken. So he that receives goods from a merchant without mention of price, tacitly engages to pay their real value in the market. So likewise he that employs a person to transact business, or perform any work, undertakes to pay him as much as his labour deserves. Yet even here some diversities will occur in the laws of different states. Not to mention the various causes or considerations of contracting, every agreement has a relation not to the parties only, but to all around them, to the government, to the state of commerce, to the police of the country.

Public rights are every where more exposed than private. The extent of the former renders them less subject to inspection, and the officers employed have little interest in their defence. In the most free countries the magistrate is therefore armed with extraordinary powers, and is permitted to vindicate his claim, when a lapse of time seems to have established the right in another. Where shall this privilege end? What superior remedies shall the magistrate possess? Into what hands shall he follow the property of his debtors? or what transactions shall he be permitted to unravel?

Again,

Again, various degrees of credit prevail in the dealings of different nations, but in none are all engagements *immediately* executed. Upon what mutual undertaking must the contract be founded; by what evidence supported, before the individual can call upon the magistrate for assistance? When shall it be considered as his duty to interfere? What process against the person shall the creditor demand? What punishment be inflicted to enforce the payment of debts? What unequal contracts shall the creditor be admitted to rescind?

These are questions which no general reasoning can enable us to answer, but which the prudent legislator must determine, with a view to the present situation and commerce of his subjects.

The hungry and necessitous will ever commit depredations on property. This is an evil which the public are concerned to repress, and encouragement must be given to the owner in pursuit, whether the injury be an open and violent, or a secret theft. To what cases shall this right extend? By what transfer of possession shall the property be changed? Shall the rule vary, as the thing taken can be more easily conveyed or concealed? How shall we decide between the interest of a fair purchaser on one hand, and the claim of a meritorious prosecutor of crimes, himself equally innocent, equally injured on the other? These, and innumerable like points, must finally depend on the state and condition of a nation; and he, who is in the smallest degree conversant with the history of laws in any country, must have observed, that they perpetually vary with the varying condition of a people. As well might we transplant the full-grown oak to the banks of the Ganges, as dream that any part of a code, matured by the patient labours of successive judges and legislators in this island, can possibly coalesce with the customs of Bengal.

To pursue our chain of reasoning, it will be necessary to investigate the domestic relations of private life. Here the intelligent reader will discover that different nations diverge, as it were, still farther from the common centre, until climate, religion, and laws conspiring, have formed

creatures

creatures so dissimilar to each other, as might tempt one to rank them under different species. As well might we expect that the Hindoo could change his colour, as that several millions of people should renounce in an instant those customs, in which they have lived, which habit has confirmed, and religion has taught them to revere. If this were accomplished, more than half our work would yet remain. They must not only renounce old, but assume new manners. The man must be again created; and this prodigy be effected by unknown laws, repugnant to every thing he had heard, seen, or felt.

It is common to uninformed man, in every quarter of the globe, to judge rather from the perceptions of sense, than the cooler refinements of reason. This habit of thinking pervades his whole conduct. The distant relation to the magistrates is forgotten, while the benefits derived from the father or master make a lively impression on the mind. Remove the impulse of fear, and the former relation depends wholly on an opinion of remote advantage, the growth of which no experience of protection in despotic states can greatly favour. A defect of government naturally tends to draw closer the ties of private life, and the individual unprotected from without, shrinks into the smaller society, where all the affections of his heart concentre. A country without police provides no asylum for distress. The poor look up to the hand that feeds them, and experience of a master's indulgence produces a more ready submission to his power, than to that of a judge, whose conduct is equally unrestrained by rule. This is not confined merely to domestic servants, but extends equally to manufacturers employed by the merchant. Without this authority the master would fear to advance his money, and the workman be unable to procure either the means of subsistence, or the materials of his work.

When Cossim Ally Cawn claimed the full dominion of his country, and bitterly inveighed against the English for encroaching upon the officers of his government, it was universally understood that he claimed no power over the weavers, &c. in the English pay. Throughout Mr. Van-

sittart's

fittart's Narrative this is every where supposed; and the Nabob, in answer to the last treaty proposed, declares, "Whenever the chiefs and gomastahs "of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the "government, my officers also will not interfere with the weavers, py-"cars, and others *usually dependent* on your factories."

That Mr. Vansittart understood this power not to be relinquished in his treaty, though the right appeared too plain to be expressly inserted, is evident from his minute in Consultations, the first of February, 1763. This authority was afterwards abused, when the company became grand monopolizers of the trade. But the interest of common masters abundantly secured the servant from oppression, lest he should seek for protection elsewhere.

Such being the prevailing habits among the natives of Bengal, it is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous scene, than a grave judge, arrayed in his robes of dignity, discoursing before the simple Indian of implied hirings for a year; of statutes compelling labourers to work, and masters to employ; of apprenticeships; of indentures; of the necessary qualifications for the exercise of trades, and the incapacities consequent on neglect; where relief may be given by one magistrate, and where redress must be sought from another. He might pronounce a very graceful panegyric upon the noble policy of our English law, upon the generous equality subsisting in the inferior relations of life, and the elevated sentiments it is fitted to inspire. All this may be just, would the native observe, but I know not the judge, and how can I believe him my friend? If my master forsakes me, to whom shall I look for support? or how can I expect protection from those who derive no advantage from my labour *?

A plurality of wives is admitted throughout the East. It is a law derived from the climate. "Women in hot climates," says the president

* In Bengal the people are so far from supposing justice due from the magistrate, that one quarter of the property in dispute belongs to the judge, as a reward for his trouble.

Montesquieu,

Montefquieu, " are marriageable at eight, nine, or ten years; they are " old at twenty. It is therefore extremely natural, that in thefe places a " man, when no law oppofes, fhould leave one wife to take another, and " that polygamy fhould be introduced." Our laws, formed in a temperate climate, where the charms of women are better preferved, where they arrive later at maturity, and their reafon accompanies their beauty, have adopted the natural equality between the fexes, and allow but one wife. The children of others are confidered as baftards, the relation of parent and child is diffolved, and they are not permitted to inherit.

A dying father diftributes his effects. He gives the bulk of his fortune to the fon of his favourite, making a proper provifion for all. The happy man enters on the poffeffion, and enjoys it for years, with the approbation of all around him. Laws are now difcovered, by which the marriage of his mother is void *, and the teftament of his father annulled †. The poor wretch is dragged before our courts, and committed to a dungeon, until he produces the money, which he has innocently fpent. In vain would he implore their mercy, and deprecate a punifhment he had never deferved. The judge might commiferate, but could not redrefs, for the rules of private property no power can fufpend. Thus fhould we teach the encircling fpectators to admire our juftice, and blefs the hands that had impofed the yoke. Could we even tear the feelings of nature from their hearts, the gaping creatures would wonder at the violence, without underftanding the object to be attained.

Marriage is a ftate connected with the former relation, and inftituted for the better performance of a parent's duty. It varies, however, in different countries, not only as to forms and folemnities, the age of contracting, and the rights of property conveyed, but likewife as to the power and dominion of a hufband. It is a happinefs to live in thofe cli-

* The common law of England never allowed polygamy.

† 29 Car. II. c. 3. regulates the forms of teftamentary difpofitions.

mates, which permit a free communication, where that sex, who have most charms, embellish without corrupting society.

This happiness, however, cannot be the lot of every nation. In climates where marriage is contracted at an early age, before reason assumes her empire, where the passions are quickened by the near approach of the sun, and morality serves only to awaken remorse, the confinement of women universally prevails. "Those, says the president Montesquieu, who "consider the horrible crimes, the treachery, the black villainies, the "poisonings, the assassinations, which the liberty of women has produced at "Goa, and in the Portuguese settlements in the Indies, where religion permits "only one wife; and who compares them with the innocence and purity of "manners of the women of Turky, Persia, Mogulstan, China, and Japan, will clearly see, that it is frequently as necessary to separate them "from the men, when they have but one, as when they have many."

If this account be just, and it is supported by the relation of travellers, the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice most certainly prevails, and is closely connected with the manners and religion of the people. The Hindoo, not less than the Mahometan, dreads the exposal of his women as the worst dishonour. Mr. Scrafton informs us, "that nothing hurt Suffraz Cawn (a former subahdar of Bengal) so much, as the disgrace he put on his richest subject, Jaggut Seat. Hearing that his son was married to a young lady of "exquisite beauty, he insisted on a sight of her. All the father's remonstrances were vain. He saw her, and sent her back, possibly uninjured. "But the very seeing her in a country, where women are concealed, was "an injury not to be forgiven." "Women," says Mr. Dow, "are so "sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested "in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The Haram is a sanctuary "against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians, covered with the "blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."

Shall

Shall our writs of liberty unlock these facred receffes? fhall no reverence be thought due to the honour of a hufband? or fhall we difregard the condition of a wife, incapable of governing herfelf? fhall our courts of juftice become the authors of outrage, which the bloody ruffian would fear to commit? Thus, in defpite of nature, fhall we diffolve the ties of domeftic life, without fubftituting any government in their place, and force the fervant, the child, and the wife, to renounce their dependence, unable to afford them protection.

Our notions of man are two frequently taken from the polifhed citizen of Britain; and we rudely imagine him to be the fame creature in every ftate. We forget that fociety has a progrefs, as well as the individual. Man may exift, where the citizen is unknown. With growing laws the latter gradually unfolds, until, affured of protection, each individual looks around with confidence for the objects of his feparate purfuit, and becomes unmolefted the artificer of his own fortunes. But as well might we expect the frivolous gallantry of a Frenchman in the wilds of America, as hope that minds depreffed by defpotifm can embrace the idea of a common intereft, or conceive the dominion of laws.

If the civil rights eftablifhed in Great Britain cannot be adopted by the inhabitants of Bengal, to impofe our criminal code, will be found yet more impracticable. This head of laws has lefs relation to individuals, than to the whole, to the government with its dependencies, to the eftablifhed religion, to the domeftic and foreign interefts of the ftate. The natural rights of men muft be protected in every country; but the means of affording even this protection muft relate to the habits of the mind; and example would lofe its effect, unlefs experience of benefit kept pace with the punifhment of crimes. It is difficult to fpeak with temper of fubjecting nations to laws, which they cannot underftand; of inflicting punifhment, where there can be no intention to offend; and of enforcing regulations without an object, becaufe the neceffities of a diftant people, diffimilar in foil, in climate, in fituation, in morals, manners, religion, and

habits of life, have extorted these provisions from their rulers. To analyze a subject of such extent will be difficult. To contrast the laws, manners, and customs of two separate nations, will require a knowledge I do not possess, a labour which I care not to employ. Yet a part of the subject may deserve our attention, and afford both profit and pleasure for our toil.

In the first class of crimes are usually ranked such actions as directly strike at the very being of the state. High treason is every where severely punished, but in a country jealous of its liberty, among a people devoted to their laws, where nevertheless a single magistrate possesses an extensive authority, this crime will be strictly defined. The statute of treasons relates wholly to the immediate administration of the king. Our judges have very liberally expounded these provisions, and construed every action subversive of government, to be either "imagining the king's "death"—"levying war against him"—"or giving comfort and aid to "his enemies."

Let British laws be adopted in Bengal, the president of our settlement will possess neither power nor prerogative, but will sink to a level with the meanest. The name is unknown to our judges; and violence to his person must be adjudged a private injury. It may even be doubted whether correspondence with an enemy of the company, supplying him with military stores, disciplining his army, and assisting his councils, would subject an offender to the penalties of treason. Should such doubts prevail, every check interposed might be deemed an injury: every punishment inflicted be an arbitrary violation of law. Not only the great bonds of society will be broken, but all public rights, relative either to domestic government or external defence, be destroyed, because English laws relate to the executive power of the state entrusted in very different hands.

Thus would the whole fabric of government be dissolved, and every power annihilated, where the dominion of a few strangers over a multitude of natives, will require a jealous, active, and vigorous administration

tion for its ſupport; and where the ſubject accuſtomed to deſpotiſm will regard as weakneſs in his rulers, even the ordinary delays of juſtice.

Our laws would be equally deſtructive of the people, as ruinous to the government of Bengal. Not to mention the laws relative to religion and domeſtic policy, not to enumerate the long * train of felonies created by parliament, the rigid puniſhment of a very few ſpecies of crimes might deluge the country with blood.

Women in the Eaſt are transferred with little † ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men ſeldom await their conſent. Were our laws of rape and rules of ‡ evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the penalty of death. I mean not to juſtify their practice, but beg leave to ſuggeſt that the ſword of juſtice, when too deeply ſtained with blood, may prove but an indifferent corrector of the morals of a nation. It has before been remarked that the neceſſities of a people extort many laws from their rulers, ſome of a very ſanguinary nature, which even the ſavage deſpot would condemn, when applied to a different ſtate of ſociety. The amazing extent of public and private credit in Great Britain, has induced our legiſlators to puniſh forgery with death. Under this law a native of Bengal was condemned in the year 1765. But ſo extravagant did the ſentence appear, where experience had never ſuggeſted the principle, ſuch the diſproportion in their eyes between the puniſhment and crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and alarm in a petition to the governor and council; and upon a proper repreſentation, Radachurd Metre received a pardon §.

Theſe, among many other inſtances which might be given, will ſuffice to prove the violent effects of introducing the Engliſh laws. In other particulars their defect will be as conſpicuous as in theſe their exceſs.

* Not leſs than one hundred and ſixty capital felonies are created by acts of parliament.

† When colonel Clive defeated Surajah al Dowlah, Meer Jaffier ſent to offer the colonel ſome hundreds of Surajah's women who were taken in the camp.

‡ Girls under ten years of age are incapable of conſenting by our law, and therefore the knowledge of them without violence is puniſhed with death.

§ Vide Petition, App. p. 177, No. 63.

A Hindoo

A Hindoo had been bribed to procure ſome papers belonging to a gentleman who died in the company's ſervice. The ſon caught him in the fact; and, in revenge of his treachery, compelled him to ſwallow a ſpoonful of broth. Ridiculous as the puniſhment may ſeem, it was attended with very ſerious conſequences. No ſooner was his pollution known, than he was degraded from his caſt, loſt all the benefits of ſociety, and was avoided as a leper by his tribe. When a man is thus diſgraced, he is thenceforward obliged to herd with the Hallachores, who can "ſcarcely * "be called a tribe, being the refuſe of all tribes. Theſe are a ſet of poor "unhappy wretches deſtined to miſery from their birth. They perform "all the vileſt offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing "that is polluted. They are held in ſuch abomination, that, on the Ma-"labar ſide of India, if one of theſe chances to touch a man of a ſuperior "tribe, he draws his ſabre, and cuts him down on the ſpot, without any "check from his own conſcience, or from the laws of the country." In this miſerable ſituation was the Hindoo, when lord Clive deſired the Bramins to aſſemble and conſider, if there could be no remiſſion of an involuntary deviation from their law. After many conſultations, a ſimilar caſe was ſaid to have been diſcovered in the ſacred books; but although the Bramins affected a compliance, the man was never reſtored to his caſt.

Their Mahomedan governors often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and ſo highly do the Hindoos value their religious purity, that after they have borne the ſevereſt corporal puniſhment rather than diſcover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect what torture has attempted in vain. Should this ſpecies of oppreſſion be now practiſed in Bengal, what adequate puniſhment could our law inflict for ſo atrocious an injury? or how can we teach the natives to acknowledge our juſtice, when rights dearer to him than life are left wholly unprotected?

Happily for the inhabitants of Bengal, this abſurd and extravagant ſyſtem of tranſplanting Engliſh laws, which have grown from the pecu-

* Mr. Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Indoſtan.

liar

liar neceſſities of a people in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, to a country where the occaſions of enacting them never had an exiſtence, is not more ridiculous in ſpeculation, than impoſſible in practice. Independent of the difficulty ariſing from their abhorrence of oaths, and their ignorance of the language in which our laws are conceived, how impoſſible would it be to promulgate them to many millions of people; or how could the magiſtrates obtain a knowledge of tranſgreſſors, when the nation were unacquainted with rules to which the idea of offence muſt relate?

He who will conſider how ſmall a portion of what we deem RIGHTS in civil ſociety, are derived from the firſt impreſſions of nature, and that all beyond are mere creatures of law, ſupported by habits of enjoyment on one ſide, of acquieſcence on the other, will readily conceive the violence with which a ſudden change muſt operate on the feelings of mankind. It is well known that the experiment has already been tried with a nation leſs diſſimilar than the Hindoos to our own, but without ſucceſs. The power of conquerors in Canada could give only a nominal exiſtence to our laws. They were eſtabliſhed indeed by the magiſtrate, yet rejected by the people; and property is now diſtributed according to their former cuſtoms, unſupported by public authority.

We come now to ſpeak of thoſe regulations which the ſtate and condition of the people may permit. Here it firſt occurs, that Bengal muſt be governed by a few ſtrangers from this country, who will not renounce their laws, or the liberty which in this iſland they enjoy. To enforce theſe rights courts of juſtice muſt be eſtabliſhed, and Europeans in our ſettlement be ſubjected to the civil and criminal laws of Great Britain. But, as this inequality of condition might uphold the tyranny of individuals over the natives, all Europeans (except gentlemen upon actual ſervice) ſhould be confined to the ſeveral ſettlements of the company *.

Why cannot the liberty thus ſecured to Europeans be extended throughout the province? If the reader be not yet ſatisfied, a momentary atten-

* Some exceptions may be admitted, with permiſſion of the governor and council.

tion

tion will convince him, that it is inconfiftent with the nature of that government of which alone the people are capable, and repugnant to that relation which they now bear to Great Britain.

All free governments have their foundation in the natural equality of mankind. The forms of fuch governments, by diftributing political power among the feveral orders of men, nurture this principle in the minds of a nation; while the principle itfelf gives life, vigour, and effect to the laws. Thefe forms, thefe laws, and this principle, without which the laws would be worfe than a dead letter, are, neverthelefs, the growth of ages. Their gradual progrefs, and the aid which they mutually afford to each other, cannot be better underftood than from the hiftory of our own country, whofe government is a model of political perfection. But the execution of our laws fuppofes a people educated under them; and were it poffible to infufe this fpirit into the natives of Bengal, we inftantly emancipate them from fubjection to ourfelves.

The forms of adminiftering juftice in different countries are regulated by the fame caufe, and the fimplicity of laws will be greater or lefs under different governments. "If we examine," fays the prefident Montefquieu, "the fet forms of juftice, in refpect to the trouble the fubject "undergoes in recovering his property, or in obtaining fatisfaction for "an injury or affront, we fhall find them, doubtlefs, too many; but, if "we confider them in the relation they have to the liberty and fecurity "of the fubject, we fhall often find them too few." The fame ingenious author adds, "that when a perfon renders himfelf abfolute, he imme-"diately thinks of fimplifying the laws." The reafon which he there gives is common to the people with their rulers: "They are more affect-"ed with particular inconveniencies than the liberty of the fubject." For this reafon no complex adminiftration of juftice can ever exift but in a free government; and the fimplicity of their ancient laws muft be continued to a people long accuftomed to defpotifm like the natives of India.

To

To preserve to a conquered nation their laws, customs, and magistrates, humanity, justice, and sound policy will equally demand. To connect this government, so preserved, with that of Great Britain, may well deserve the attention of parliament. How this can be effected we now proceed to examine.

Delegated power in Asia has ever been moderate in the exercise. The reason is obvious; the interest of the despot has no relation to the passions and follies of his servant, who is readily sacrificed when he affords cause of complaint, or interrupts the * tranquillity of his master. On the contrary, when governors are entrusted by free states with absolute power over a conquered people, this authority has always been abused. Witness the desolation of the Roman provinces, where the laws against peculation rather increased the oppression. In free states, it is impossible to inflict an adequate punishment upon a man whose criminalty can be ascertained by no † settled rules, but must result from the whole of his conduct. The power of the judge in a free country is limited by the strict letter of law; and the formalities of justice increase in proportion to the value which is set on on the honour, fortune, liberty, and life of the subject.

The nature of the people, and the relation in which they stand to us, render impossible a free government in Bengal; and our laws are inadequate to the controul of distant governors armed with such extensive authority as must ever be upheld in India. It becomes necessary, therefore, to interpose some check upon the spot, and give the natives an administration of justice not immediately dependent upon the will of their rulers. Assuming also the proposition, that we must continue to the natives their laws and customs, both civil and religious, it follows, that the judges who ad-

* This is the cause why the mogul government was more tolerable in the provinces, than that of the independent nabobs and subahdars.

† On the other hand, the strict letter of our laws may condemn acts not only innocent but laudable, and even necessary. It will be absurd to judge of *the conduct of a governor* by a reference to rules fitted for a very different situation of men and things.

minister justice must be taken from among * themselves. As this would lead to independency, it is necessary, that the governor and council, being the supreme power in Bengal, should have authority to issue edicts from time to time; but as it is the nature of legislation, that its provisions should be *general*, and not directed to a *particular* object, these edicts should have no effect until — months after they had been registered in the supreme court of English judicature.

Laws have no power, unless the observance be enforced by the sanction of punishment; and as a conquered people are to be held in subjection, this power must reside in the conquerors. Were this authority entrusted to the legislators, two powers, which ought ever to be distinguished, being united in the same persons would be liable to abuse.

The supreme judges of our English court, who will have no other concern with the ordinary administration of justice throughout the country, should therefore punish the native judges for nonobservance of the edicts, refusal to hear and determine, or for gross partiality and corruption.

Such a government would be too limited in its operations to repress crimes which immediately affect its safety. Infinite would be the means of conspiring against the state condemned by no previous law. While, therefore, the ordinary administration of justice continues in other hands, a political power of punishment must exist in the governor and council, like to that assumed by the prince in the absolute monarchies of Europe. This power might extend to sending Europeans home, and to punish in another manner the native of India †.

* Whether the distribution of justice might not be rendered more pure and uniform, by giving an appellate jurisdiction to a court in which English judges might preside assisted, by natives, may deserve the attention of the legislature; but to invest Europeans with the original judicature throughout the country would be productive of infinite oppression.

† In all countries, a power of this nature is exerted upon extraordinary occasions. With us, it resides in parliament; and their acts for this purpose are called acts of attainder.

Our

Our government will yet partake the greateſt imperfection incident to a deſpotic ſtate. Its exiſtence can alone be preſerved by a numerous army, which experience has ever taught us to think formidable to abſolute rulers, whoſe intereſts are not blended with thoſe of any order of men. In Bengal, this army is moreover compoſed of natives, while all dominion throughout the country has been tranſferred to a few ſtrangers. Independent, therefore, of the encouragement due from every ſtate to the cultivator of the land, without inſiſting upon the conſequent increaſe of population and commerce, a regard to our own ſafety requires that we ſhould give the native a permanent intereſt in the ſoil, and teach him to conſider the preſervation of his own fortunes as involved with the ſafety of his maſters*.

Should this arrangement be attempted by granting ſmall portions of land at a moderate rent, ſhould the right of the tenant be evidenced by regiſters of theſe pottahs or leaſes, eſtabliſhed in every diſtrict, perhaps the ſecurity of ſuch a tenure might prove an invitation to other proprietors. Thoſe who poſſeſs lands by claims of a different nature might gladly relinquiſh a part of the profits for a title which could never be queſtioned. While the peninſula of India ſwarms with inhabitants, the waſte lands of Bengal could not long remain uncultivated. With an improving revenue, the company might remit the impoſts upon commerce with their long train of evils; and thus, by ſimplifying every right, and aſcertaining every claim, remove the occaſions of oppreſſion. To enforce a prompt adminiſtration of juſtice would not then be difficult, where the proceedings are public, and where the judge could rarely ſhelter a fraud under the cloak of error. Each individual poſſeſſing a ſure property in the produce of his toil, induſtry will diffuſe its bleſſings; and Bengal may reach a height of proſperity, heretofore unknown in India. The wounds which this country has ſuſtained are great, and the ſevere checks which induſtry has here received, might, in a more northern climate, almoſt ſtarve a

* An additional ſecurity might, perhaps, be attained by encouraging the ſettlement of European ſoldiers with women of the country. Regulations might eaſily be ſuggeſted, under which their deſcendants would become an uſeful colony to Great Britain.

 people.

people. But in Bengal, where the demands of nature are few, where manufactures from various causes have been preserved amidst successive revolutions, these losses will be quickly retrieved. While by such means, all orders of men being combined in one common interest, the enemies of Great Britain will be for ever excluded from India, and London become the great emporium of Europe, for the various produce of the East.

The progress to this state of improvement must nevertheless be slow. Sudden changes in property or government are always dangerous, and the hand of power can produce nothing but confusion. Even in laying the foundations of order we must follow the genius of a people, we must attend to their habits, and even respect the prejudices they have imbibed. If, relinquishing the airy schemes of projectors, the wisdom of the British nation should be employed in devising a simple form of government for Bengal; if happy in giving peace to millions, some enlightened minds should watch with parental care over a growing empire; posterity may behold with admiration a noble monument of national humanity, and the praise of arts, of science, and of arms, serve rather to adorn than constitute the future character of the British nation.

APPENDIX.

TO THE

READER.

IT may be neceſſary to offer ſome apology for the length of this Appendix, which has ſwollen to a ſize greatly beyond the wiſh and intention of the writer. The treaties, and other papers, in the latter part of the Appendix, could not be omitted, without depriving the reader of thoſe proofs which the public have a right to expect. Objections did occur to a publication of the whole Select Committee's correſpondence with the Court of Directors; yet ſome parts of theſe letters were neceſſary, to ſhew that the repreſentation, here given of Bengal tranſactions, has not been fabricated to ſerve the preſent occaſion. An unwillingneſs to revive the memory of private faults, rather than any apprehenſion of injury, or even offence to the Company, had determined the writer to give ſuch extracts only as the Narrative required: but, upon peruſal of theſe extracts, they appeared ſo disjointed, and ſo liable to miſconſtruction, that, to avoid all appearance of concealment, it was thought expedient to print the whole.

As to the arrangement of this Appendix, the author judged it better to adhere to the connection of theſe papers with each other, than to follow the order of the text; ſince references inſerted in the margin (when theſe papers are conſidered as proofs to ſupport the Narrative) will abundantly ſupply the want of conformity: whereas, by the order here choſen, the Appendix will, in ſome degree, form a ſecond Narrative.

The reader may remark a great ſimiliarity between ſome parts of this work on the ſubject of revenues, and the accounts already publiſhed by Mr. Dow. That gentleman borrowed largely from Mr. Verelſt, as will appear upon a peruſal of the papers printed in this Appendix; but he has added his own comment to the text, which the conduct of individuals by no means deſerved.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

No. I.

Fort William, Sept. 30, 1765.

Hon. Sirs,

1. THE accompanying proceedings of the Select Committee will explain our motives for purchasing the Admiral Stevens, to convey to your hands these dispatches, which we hope will be deemed of sufficient importance to merit any extraordinary expence thereby incurred; an expence which, we flatter ourselves, will be fully defrayed by the valuable cargo she carries home at this early season.

2. By the general letter of this date, you will be informed by the President and Council of every material circumstance that has been transacted before the Board; at the same time, we beg leave to refer to letters dispatched by the Vansittart and Bute, (whereof duplicates are now enclosed) for a detail of the military operations, political occurrences, and especially the very important transactions previous to our arrival, and subsequent to the death of Meer Jaffier; an event that furnished the most glorious opportunity of establishing your influence and power on so solid a basis, as must soon have rendered the English East India Company the most potent commercial body that ever flourished at any period of time.

3. It is from a due sense of the regard we owe and profess to your interest, and to our own honour, that we think it indispensibly necessary to lay open to your view, a series of transactions too notoriously known to be suppressed, and too affecting to your interests, to the national character, and to the existence of the Company in Bengal, to escape unnoticed and uncensured: transactions, which seem to demonstrate, that every spring of this government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the inordinate lust of unmerited wealth.

4. To illustrate these positions, we must exhibit to your view, a most unpleasing variety of complaints, inquiries, evidences, accusations, and vindications, the particulars of which are entered in our Proceedings and the Appendix; assuring you, that we undertake this task with peculiar reluctance, from the personal regard we entertain for some of the gentlemen whose characters will appear to be deeply affected.

5. At Fort St. George we received the first advices of the demise of Meer Jaffier, and of Sujah al Dowlah's defeat. It was there firmly imagined, that no definitive measures would be taken, either in respect to a peace, or filling the vacancy in the Nizamut, as the Lapwing arrived in the month of January with your dispatches and the appointment of a Committee, with express powers to that purpose, for the successful exertion of which the happiest occasion now offered. However, a contrary resolution prevailed in the Council. The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions, from that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, and Leycester, was appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice to the claim of his grandson; and, for this measure, such reasons are assigned, as ought to have dictated a diametrically

opposite resolution. Meerun's son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensibly necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation, was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune. But this inconsistence was not regarded, nor was it material to the views for precipitating the treaty, which was pressed on the young Nabob, at the first interview, in so earnest and indelicate a manner, as highly disgusted him, and chagrined his ministers; while not a single rupee was stipulated for the Company, and their interests were sacrificed, that their servants might revel in the spoils of a treasury before impoverished, but now totally exhausted.

6. This scene of corruption was first disclosed at a visit the Nabob paid to Lord Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Committee, a few days after our arrival. He then delivered to his Lordship a letter, filled with bitter complaints of the insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and of the embezzlement of near ‖ twenty lacks of rupees, issued from his treasury, for purposes unknown, during the late negociations. So public a complaint could not be disregarded, and it soon produced an inquiry. We referred the letter to the Board, in expectation of obtaining a satisfactory account of the application of this money; and were answered only by a warm remonstrance, entered by Mr. Leycester, against that very Nabob in whose elevation he boasts having been a principal agent.

7. Mahomed Reza Cawn, the Naib Subah, was then called upon to account for this large disbursement from the treasury; and he soon delivered to the Committee, the very extraordinary narrative entered in our proceedings the sixth of June; wherein he specifies the several names, the sums by whom paid, and to whom, whether in bills, cash, or obligations. So precise, so accurate an account as this, of money issued for secret and venal services was never, we believe, before this period, exhibited to the Honourable Court of Directors; at least, never vouched by such undeniable testimony, and authentic documents: by Juggutseat who himself was obliged to contribute largely to the sums demanded; by Mooteram who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all those pecuniary transactions; by the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn who were the heaviest sufferers; and, lastly, by the confession of the gentlemen themselves whose names are specified in the distribution list.

8. Juggutseat expresly declares in his narrative, that the sum which he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to * 125,000 rupees, was extorted by menaces; and since the close of our enquiry, and the opinions he delivered in the Proceedings of the twenty-first of June, it fully appears, that the *presents* from the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn, exceeding the immense sum of † seventeen lacks, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakness of the government, and violently exacted from the dependent state and timid disposition of the minister.

The charge, indeed, is denied on the one hand, as well as affirmed on the other. Your honourable Board must determine how far the circumstance of extortion may aggravate the crime of disobedience to your positive orders, of exposing the Government in a manner to sale, and receiving the infamous wages of corruption from opposite parties, and contending interests. We speak with boldness, because we speak from conviction founded upon indubitable facts, that besides the above sums specified in the distribution account, to the amount of 228,125 l. sterling, there was likewise to the value of several lacks of rupees procured from Nundcomar and Roydullub, each of

‖ 250,000 *l.*

* 15,625 *l.*
† 212,500 *l.*
228,125 *l.*

of whom aspired at and obtained a promise of that very employment it was pre-determined to bestow on Mahomed Reza Cawn. The particulars of this extraordinary bargain came too late to our hands to be inserted in the Proceedings, nor do we think it material; since to insist on farther proofs than are already fully and clearly exhibited, in order to convince you that our inquiry was necessary, and our decision moderate, would, we apprehend, serve rather to exhaust your patience than confirm your belief.

9. These particulars being submitted to your consideration, it may be necessary to offer a few remarks on those arguments urged by the gentlemen in their several minutes, either in their own justification, or with a view that our proceedings should appear arbitrary and oppressive. Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester, Senior, Gray, and Burdett, vindicate the receiving presents by arguments which, in our opinion, render their conduct still more culpable.

They urge, that as the covenants were not then executed, they could not be obligatory. In answer, we will beg leave to ask those gentlemen, Whether the Company's orders were not clearly and perfectly understood?---Whether the Covenants themselves were not transmitted from England, ready to be filled up and executed?---Whether a single motion for fulfilling the Company's Instructions appears on the face of their Consultations? Whether it was not incumbent on them, as the superior power, to have set this example of respect and deference to the orders of their Constituents? And, whether they conceive the Company would have sustained any detriment from this act of their obedience? How then came the orders to be totally neglected, at a juncture especially when the letter and spirit of those obligations clearly manifest that particular regard should be had to their execution?

10. The same gentlemen arraign the conduct, and deny the powers of the Select Committee. Mr. Leycester in particular affirms, that candour and decency required the truth of a charge brought against any of the Members of the Board, should be determined by the Board. You, gentlemen, will be able to judge of the force of this argument, and of the propriety of the measure proposed, when we acquaint you that of a Board then sitting at the Presidency, consisting of the President and eight Members, five of those Members were themselves the accused, who, by having a majority of voices, would of consequence become the judges of their own conduct. We will not enter into a discussion of the precise powers entrusted to the Committee; but we may venture to affirm that, unless the spirit of their Instructions be extended to the correction of abuses, the detection of corruption, and punishment of disobedience, the ends proposed of restoring peace and tranquility will be frustrated, and their appointment rendered ridiculous and absurd.

11. Mr. Johnstone is pleased to assert, that no proofs can be produced of menaces being used to obtain a sum of money from Juggutseat. To this we reply by a reference to the evidence of his own agent, Mooteram, where it is declared upon oath, that he delivered, by Mr. Johnstone's express orders, the very messages recited in his examination; messages of such tendency, as certainly bear hard on Mr. Johnstone's character. As to what he further adds, of our obtaining this evidence by military force and terror; we are sorry to see a gentleman rest his defence on the subterfuge of a pitiful evasion. Mr. Johnstone certainly knows, at least he ought to know, as the Proceedings were immediately sent to him, that Mooteram was seized in the commission of a clandestine illegal act, of interesting consequence to the public in general, and to Mr. Johnstone and the gentlemen of the Deputation in particular. Mooteram was actually detected in an attempt to suppress bills to the amount of * 175,000 rupees which had been unwarrantably obtained from Mahomed Reza Cawn, and screen from discovery a circumstance which it highly imported the Committee to know, and which

* 21,875 l.

Mr. Johnstone should have made known, were he solicitous to exculpate himself from a charge that deeply affected his reputation, and of such irreproachable conduct as he would endeavour to persuade the world. But that the least shadow of a doubt might not remain of the candour and equity of the measures we pursued, we readily consented that the same Mooteram might be re-examined in presence of the Council, where he confirmed, without contradiction or evasion, every material circumstance set forth in his first evidence. The remainder of Mr. Johnstone's minute, you will perceive, doth not affect the Committee as a body; it consists entirely of personal invective, loose and virulent declamation, the genuine effects of enraged disappointment and detection. Yet should any thing further be required in answer, we beg to refer you to the replies made by Lord Clive and the members of the Committee, which, we flatter ourselves, will appear full and explicit.

12. One circumstance more occurs in the course of these gentlemen's minutes, that merits our observation. It is declared by Mr. Leycester upon oath, that he did not receive the present intended him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and that his Letters will demonstrate his intention was to have refused it. This is a fact, of the truth of which we entertain not the least doubt; but it proves nothing more than, that Mr. Leycester would not receive a sum of money, after the Covenants had been enforced by the Committee, and an enquiry set on foot concerning the distribution of that very money, a part of which was now privately tendered back to Mahomed Reza Cawn. He will not deny that he knew of the intended present when he was at Cossimbazar. The letters of Messrs. Senior and Middleton prove that he did. He will not deny that bills to the amount of * 50,000 rupees were made out in his name; their being now offered to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and Mooteram's being detected in the fact, evince it. The whole, therefore, of this solemn asseveration, amounts only to an evasion in respect to time and circumstances, which no way affects the nature of the act itself.

13. Having now explained the origin and progress of this disagreeable inquiry, We beg leave to touch upon a few circumstances, in justification of the lenity of our opinions delivered and resolutions entered in the Committee Proceedings of the 21st June. And here we must observe, that notwithstanding we believe a reformation of abuses to be actually our duty, yet we could not think the same duty necessarily extended to the punishment of transgressions. We owed a regard to the persons and characters of some of the gentlemen concerned, who must suffer extremely by suspension or dismission. The great objects of our wishes were, that your service might in future be conducted with integrity, diligence, and œconomy, without a retrospect to the past, where it could be avoided. The subject, indeed, of the present inquiry was so recent, it was of so interesting a nature to the public, and came recommended to us, or rather was forced upon us with such peculiar circumstances, as rendered our proceeding to a scrutiny necessary to our own reputation; but the severity of judgment, and a decision which would have left so great a void in your Council, was not equally necessary either to your interest, or to our honour. Such an event might have impressed the minds of the natives with strange ideas of the fluctuating situation of our councils; and it would unavoidably have admitted a number of your junior servants to the supreme direction of this vast machine of government, at an age little exceeding that period fixed by the laws of their country for entrusting them with the management of their own private fortunes. We must further observe, that many of the most aggravating circumstances had not then reached our knowledge; at the same time we were under the necessity of coming to some determination. Sujah al Dowlah impatiently expected Lord Clive in camp to conclude the proposed treaty, and the regulations of the government lately established, with other matters then transacting, absolutely required

Mr.

* 6250 *l.*

Mr. Sykes's attendance at the Durbar. Some of the extraordinary facts above related were obtained since their departure; and had they come sooner, they would serve only to perplex and embarrass us the more. In a word, to obviate future evils, we considered as our immediate duty; the punishment of past misconduct we chose to refer to your Honourable Board, that malice itself should have no foundation for asserting we had assumed and exerted a power not fully and expresly authorized by the Court of Directors.

We think it necessary to declare, in justice to Mr. Cartier, whose character stands irreproachable in the list of your servants, that he never knew of, or consented to the receiving, any the smallest present, either from the Nabob, or from Mahomed Reza Cawn.

14. Although we will not take upon us to declare that we entirely approve of the Covenants in the form in which they have been transmitted, yet are we persuaded, from the instances just related, that some restraint is necessary to prevent the abuse of the customary indulgence to receive presents. This indulgence has certainly been extended to the most shameful oppression and flagrant corruption, and is otherwise attended with manifold inconvenience to the service. We therefore determined immediately to enforce your instructions relative to those obligations, and to bind down by law all such as are not to be checked by a sense of honour and justice. You will accordingly observe, that carrying those orders into strict execution throughout every department civil and military, was among the earliest transactions of your Select Committee.

15. We also took an early opportunity of considering the tendency of your repeated instructions for recalling free merchants and other Europeans, who, without the least claim to your protection from indentures, were nevertheless permitted to reside up the country, and in all the different parts of the Nabob's dominions. Sorry we are to observe, that this indulgence has frequently given birth to grievous acts of insult and oppression, at places remote from the Presidency and subordinate factories, and that carrying your orders into execution becomes daily more necessary. By this measure, however, the business of your servants will suffer considerably, from their being now obliged to employ black Gomastahs, on many affairs which demand the vigour and activity of Europeans. Hence likewise will many persons of real merit be deprived the means of subsistence; yet in consideration that private interest must give way to the public benefit; and that it is our duty to obey, where your immediate interests do not absolutely require a deviation from your orders, we determined to recall all the Europeans residing up the country, under protection of the English name, by the twenty-first of October next, and have for that purpose circulated advertisements and orders to the different Subordinates.

16. Regulating the country government was the next object of our attention. We found the Nabob highly dissatisfied with those plenary powers vested in Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by virtue of the treaty acted in quality of prime minister, and enjoyed uncontrouled authority. This unlimited sway, lodged in the hands of a single person, appeared dangerous to the present establishment, which we thought it becoming the Company's honour to maintain, as having been solemnly ratified by the Governor and Council. To amend the very obvious defects in the treaty, without reversing the principles on which it was founded, was consistent with equity, whilst it met with the Nabob's own approbation; and the most effectual means of doing this seemed to us to consist in an equal partition of ministerial influence. As Mahomed Reza Cawn's short administration was irreproachable, we determined to continue him in a share of the authority, at the same time that we associated with him men of weight and character; so that each became a check upon the conduct of the others. Accordingly we fixed on Juggutseat and Roydullub, for the reasons assigned in the Proceedings; and we now

now have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the business of Government goes on with unanimity, vigour, and dispatch.

17. By the last dispatches you were advised that Sujah al Dowlah was making fresh and formidable preparations to penetrate a second time into the Nabob's dominions. He had found means to engage Mulhar, a considerable Maharatta chief, in his alliance; and if the judicious and vigorous measures pursued by General Carnac had not prevented a junction of the numerous forces destined for this invasion, a ruinous war must have been supported through the course of another campaign. The enemies situation rendered their design for some time uncertain, and obliged the General to great circumspection in his movements, lest he should leave the frontiers exposed. Having, however at length received undoubted advice they had taken the Korah road, he suspected their intention was to fall upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a separate corps in that district. Accordingly he made forced marches to effect a junction, which he happily accomplished, and then the united army moved in pursuit of the enemy. On the third of May the General came up with, attacked and entirely defeated them; in consequence of which, Sujah al Dowlah separated from his allies, while the Maharattas retired with precipitation toward the Jumna. In fact, this blow appears to have been decisive; for Sujah al Dowlah never again attempted to join the Maharattas, who observing the General dropt the pursuit in order to watch the Vizier, made a second effort to re-enter Korah, in which they were disappointed. Persuaded that to stop their incursions, it would be necessary to drive them beyond the Jumna, the General crossed the river the twenty-second, dislodged them from their post on the opposite side, and obliged them to retire to the hills. There he quitted his pursuit, and returned to his station at Jajemaw, to receive Sujah al Dowlah, who had intimated a desire of submitting to whatever conditions we should think fit to prescribe. His letter to the General expresses his feelings; and the reception he met with in camp was such as policy dictated should be given to a vanquished enemy, of Sujah al Dowlah's rank and character.

18. A peace with the Vizier became the next immediate object of our deliberation, in adjusting which we endeavoured to extend our views beyond the present advantages that might possibly be obtained. We regarded Sujah al Dowlah's personal character, and high reputation over the whole empire, the situation of his country which we had conquered, and the great risk and expence of maintaining the conquest, if we closed in with the plan adopted by the late Governor and Council, of giving it up to Nudjeef Cawn, who had neither weight of reputation nor force sufficient to keep possession, or to form a secure barrier to the Nabob's dominions. The words of our instructions to Lord Clive, when he left the Presidency to adjust the conditions of a peace, express the sentiments which we still entertain on this subject.

" Experience having shewn that an influence maintained by force of arms is destructive of that commercial spirit which we ought to promote, ruinous to the Company, and oppressive to the Country, We earnestly recommend to your Lordship, that you will exert your utmost endeavours to conciliate the affections of the country powers, to remove any jealousy they may entertain of our unbounded ambition, and to convince them that we aim not at conquest and dominion, but security in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to us.

" With this view, policy requires that our demands be moderate and equitable; and that we avoid every appearance of an inclination to enlarge our territorial possessions. The sacrifice of conquests, which we must hold on a very precarious tenure, and at an expence more than equivalent to their revenues, is of little consideration to us; yet will such restitution impress them with a high opinion of our generosity and justice.

" For

"For these reasons, we think Sujah al Dowlah should be reinstated in the full "possession of all his dominions, with such limitations only as he must see are evi- "dently calculated for our mutual benefit. We would decline insisting upon any "terms that must prove irksome to his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his "sincerity. Retaining possession of any of his strong holds may possibly be deemed "a necessary pledge of his fidelity; for our part, we would rather consider it as a "source of future contention and an unnecessary burthen to the Company, unless it "be one day proposed to resume the thoughts of extending their dominions; a measure "very opposite to the sentiments in which we left the Court of Directors."

19. Agreeably to these instructions his Lordship and General Carnac concluded a treaty of peace with Sujah al Dowlah, that will, if any thing can, secure his friendship and fidelity, and render the public tranquility permanent. They found him extremely averse to the establishment of factories in his dominions, which he considered as laying the foundation of a future rupture, and the only thing that could possibly disturb our amity. He very justly observed, that our encroachments in Bengal, the great abuses committed by the Company's servants, and extraordinary extension of the privileges originally granted to the English, had been productive of much confusion and bloodshed in Bengal, and he feared might produce similar consequences in his country; accordingly Lord Clive and General Carnac judged it adviseable to omit the word *factories* in the treaty, but without relinquishing the right, should it be found expedient, after mature deliberation, to enforce it. To speak our own sentiments freely, we foresee no benefit that can accrue to the Company, from maintaining settlements at so vast a distance from the Presidency, whatever advantages may arise to their servants: at least the prospect is so remote, while the expences are so certain, the risque so evident, and the disputes it will occasion so probable, that we are at present of opinion, the factory lately established at Benâres ought immediately to be withdrawn; we mean as soon as the agreement between the Company and Bulwantsing is expired. The limits of the Nabob's dominions are sufficient to answer all your purposes. These, we think, ought to constitute the boundaries, not only of all your territorial possessions and influence in these parts, but of your commerce also; since by grasping at more, you endanger the safety of those immense revenues, and that well-founded power, which you now enjoy, without the hopes of obtaining an adequate advantage.

20. With respect to the other articles of the treaty you will observe, that a sufficient provision is secured for the support of the King's honour and dignity, without danger of his becoming a future incumbrance; and that * twenty-six lacks yearly are granted to him on the revenues of Bengal: a revenue far more considerable than he ever before enjoyed. In gratitude for this instance of our attention to his interest, his Majesty has been pleased to bestow on the Company the most important grants ever yet obtained by any European state from the Mogul Court. Besides confirming to the Company all their former possessions, and securing to them the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's Jagheer, he has conferred on them the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and ratified, in the strongest terms, an agreement we proposed concluding with the Nabob, if the King's consent could be procured; subjects which it will be necessary to explain in a separate paragraph.

Another article stipulates, that Sujah al Dowlah shall pay the Company fifty lacks of rupees, by way of indemnification for the charges incurred by the war. This indemnification we know is inadequate; but his circumstances would not afford more, without oppressing the country, and thereby laying the foundation of future contention and trouble; and accordingly you will perceive that no money is granted for any other consideration whatever.

As

* 325,000 *l.*

As to surrendering Cossim Ally, Sombre, and the deserters, compliance with such a demand is now entirely out of his power. The former, we hear, has sought shelter in the Robilla Country, and the latter reside under protection of the Jauts, skreened both from Sujah al Dowlah, and from us; so that making this an essential preliminary, would be highly unreasonable and absurd: however it is stipulated, that they shall never meet with encouragement or assistance from Sujah al Dowlah, or be again admitted into his country.

Upon the whole, we have paid such regard to Sujah al Dowlah's character and interest, and to what justice as well as policy requires, without any the smallest sacrifice of your honour or interest, that we entertain the most flattering hope this treaty of peace will be lasting, and our frontier on that quarter perfectly secure against future invasions.

21. The time now approaches when we may be able to determine, with some degree of certainty, whether our remaining as merchants, subjected to the jurisdiction, encroachments, and insults of the country government; or supporting your privileges and possessions by the sword, are likely to prove most advantageous to the Company. Whatever may be the consequence, certain it is, that after having once begun, and proceeded to such lengths, we have been forced to go on, step by step, until your whole possessions were put to the risque by every revolution effected, and by every battle fought. To apply a remedy to those evils, by giving stability and permanency to your Government, is now and has been the constant object of the serious attention of your Select Committee.

22. The perpetual struggles for superiority between the Nabobs and your Agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that no other method can be suggested of laying the axe to the root of all those evils, than that of obtaining the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, for the Company. By establishing the power of the Great Mogul, we have likewise established his rights; and his Majesty, from principles of gratitude, of equity, and of policy, has thought proper to bestow this important employment on the Company, the nature of which is, the collecting all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Dehly, or wherever the King shall reside or direct. But as the King has been graciously pleased to bestow on the Company, for ever, such surplus as shall arise from the revenues, upon certain stipulations and agreements expressed in the Sunnud, we have settled with the Nabob, with his own free will and consent, that the sum of * fifty-three lacks shall be annually paid to him, for the support of his dignity and all contingent expences, exclusive of the charge of maintaining an army, which is to be defrayed out of the revenues ceded to the Company, by this royal grant of the Dewanny; and indeed the Nabob has abundant reason to be well satisfied with the conditions of this agreement, whereby a fund is secured to him, without trouble or danger, adequate to all the purposes of such grandeur and happiness as a man of his sentiments has any conception of enjoying; more would serve only to disturb his quiet, endanger his government, and sap the foundation of that solid structure of power and wealth, which, at length, is happily reared and completed by the Company, after a vast expence of blood and treasure.

23. By this acquisition of the Dewanny, your possessions and influence are rendered permanent and secure, since no future Nabob will either have power, or riches sufficient to attempt your overthrow, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions must henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for secret services, for donations, or for restitutions. The Nabob cannot answer the expectations

* 662,500 *l.*

tions of the venal and mercenary, nor will the Company comply with demands injurious to themselves, out of their own revenues. The experience of years has convinced us that a division of power is impossible without generating discontent and hazarding the whole: all must belong either to the Company or to the Nabob. We leave you to judge which alternative is the most desirable and the most expedient in the present circumstances of affairs. As to ourselves, we know of no other system we could adopt, that would less affect the Nabob's dignity, and at the same time secure the Company against the fatal effects of future revolutions, than this of the Dewanny. The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with safety to us, so that we may pronounce with some degree of confidence, that the worst which will happen in future to the Company will proceed from temporary ravages only, which can never become so general as to prevent your revenues from yielding a sufficient fund to defray your civil and military charges, and furnish your investments.

24. But to secure these valuable possessions, a constant regard must be paid to your military establishment. By the regimental returns, which we enclose in the packet, and which are very exact, you will see, at one view, the deplorable condition of our infantry, to complete which, agreeable to your directions and to the proposals made by Lord Clive, not less than 900 men will suffice. We therefore most earnestly request, that you will next year send us out 12 or 1400 men for this establishment, giving such peremptory orders as must be obeyed, that none of this number be detained, upon any consideration, on the coast of Coromandel. Our numbers being once completed, we shall require for the security of your immense possessions in this country, no more than 600 recruits, to be sent out annually in the following manner, viz. 500 infantry, 60 artillery, 20 cavalry, and 20 serjeants for the sepoys: to this number must be added 30 volunteers and officers; and it would be of the utmost benefit to our plan, that you also send out every year 6 or 7 gentlemen from the academy at Woolwich, for artillery officers, this being a service that suffers extremely for want of persons properly instructed in the business; since no officer, who knows the benefit of the infantry service here, will chuse to quit it for any advantages the artillery affords.

25. Already we feel the good effects of regimenting your troops; discipline, subordination, and œconomy begin to take place. Had General Carnac's merit been much greater, if possible, than it is, he could not effect this of himself, unassisted as he was by field-officers, and thwarted as he always has been in his military operations, by the late Governors and Council.

We have already issued our orders for striking off half the double Batta, and shall, in a very few days, put your forces intirely upon a footing with the troops on the coast of Coromandel, which will be reducing your military expences as low as they can well bear, consistently with your interest and the good of the service.

26. Before we quit this subject, we must request, in the strongest manner, that you will supply us for the first year with 10,000 stands of arms, and afterwards with 4,000 annually, which will in future answer all our demands, if proper care be taken in the purchase. Of late years, the bad quality of your small arms in general have exposed your possessions to the greatest risk and danger; the locks are ill finished, and the metal so badly tempered as not to stand the heat of the sun in this climate. We are therefore persuaded, it would prove in the end much to your advantage, if you purchased all your small arms of the same persons who furnish the Government, and pay at the rate of twenty-seven, instead of eighteen shillings per firelock, since experience demonstrates they will continue serviceable for double the time, without being liable to the inconvenience above represented.

The iron-founder, whom you sent out in the Kent, died on his passage to this place; but as the casting of shot and shells in this country is an object of importance, we

ſtrongly recommend that you will ſupply the loſs as ſoon as poſſible, by ſending three or four perſons well verſed in that buſineſs, that our whole deſign may not be fruſtrated by ſuch an accident in future.

It alſo merits your ſerious conſideration to provide, by every poſſible means, againſt the illicit importation of ſmall arms to your ſettlements in India, and particularly to Bengal. Of late years, this has become a profitable branch of trade with the Europe captains, as well as that of furniſhing the natives with ammunition; and they elude the ſearch of your officers, by ſending round ſmall veſſels to meet them at ſea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriff and St. Jago, or elſewhere, out of the reach of your inquiries. However, as their continuing ſuch practices any longer may prove fatal in their conſequences to all your poſſeſſions in this country, we earneſtly exhort, that you will immediately apply the moſt effectual remedies you can ſuggeſt, either by way of prevention, or by the rigorous and exemplary puniſhment of the offenders. At the ſame time, you may be aſſured, we will take every ſtep in our power to detect the leaſt breach of your orders on this head, and to obſtruct the ſale of all kinds of fire-arms.

27. Having obſerved the reluctance that appeared in bidding for your farms, at the laſt ſale of your lands in the Burdwan province, the great annual deficiency in the collections, and the numberleſs complaints made of grievous exactions and oppreſſions, we determined, upon Mr. Johnſtone's reſigning your ſervice, to appoint Mr. Vereiſt in quality of Superviſor of thoſe revenues, in order to form the beſt judgment poſſible of the cauſe of the yearly deficiency of the real value of the lands, the beſt method of improving and letting them; and alſo to procure the neceſſary materials for a plan to conduct the collections in future, in ſuch manner as ſhall appear moſt conducive to your intereſt, and likely to promote the happineſs of the people. It is with pleaſure we acquaint you, that we have the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with Mr. Verelſt's attention to the ſeveral objects recommended, and the diligence he has exerted during his ſhort reſidence in that country, of which you may form ſome judgment from his Memorial to the Committee, annexed to our Proceedings of the 14th September.

28. It was in conſequence of this Memorial, that we formed our Reſolution of that date to withdraw the Factory; and alſo to recall the Member of the Board reſident at Midnapore, the collections and buſineſs of which may as conveniently be tranſacted by a junior ſervant, at a much leſs expence. Many are the inconveniencies, beſides the extraordinary charge incurred, that reſult from ſuch appointments, which we conſider as neceſſary only at thoſe Subordinates where your principal inveſtments are made. We are convinced by very late experience, that the moſt flagrant oppreſſions may be wantonly committed in thoſe employments by Members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior ſervants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their ſtation as Counſellors have too frequently ſcreened them from complaints, which would be lodged without fear or ſcruple againſt inferior ſervants.

29. But there are other manifold inconveniencies, of ſtill more pernicious effect to the ſervice, which reſult from thoſe appointments. Hence it was found neceſſary to enlarge the Council from twelve to ſixteen Members, that there might be a ſufficient number to conduct the buſineſs of the Preſidency, and alſo to manage your affairs at the out-ſettlements, either in quality of Chiefs or Reſidents. What is the conſequence but ſuch perpetual revolutions at the Board, as render it impoſſible for any of the Members to acquire a competent knowledge of your intereſts, and of the particular duty of their own ſtation?

This encreaſe in the number of the Board is alſo productive of a further inconvenience, of the deepeſt concern to your intereſt in the preſent ſituation of your affairs.

To

To keep up to the letter of your Inſtructions, we muſt fill the vacancies in Council from the next in ſucceſſion, without regard to the qualifications they poſſeſs for the diſcharge of ſo important a truſt, and thus commit into the hands of raſh unexperienced young men the conduct of a ſyſtem of government which demands the diſcretion, judgment, and ſteadineſs of more advanced years and longer ſervices. Circumſtances are now widely different from what they were a few years ſince, when you confined your whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete your inveſtments without inſult or exaction from the Country Government. You are now become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; your ſucceſs is beheld with jealouſy by the other European nations in India, and your intereſts are ſo extended, ſo complicated, and ſo connected with thoſe of the ſeveral ſurrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult ſyſtem of politics.

Theſe weighty conſiderations determined us to avoid filling the vacancies lately occaſioned in Council by the death of Mr. Billers and reſignation of Meſſrs. Johnſtone and Burdett. We carefully examined your orders reſpecting the appointment of a Board; we compared the different paragraphs of your Letter, the more clearly to aſcertain the ſpirit of your Inſtructions, and are unanimous in our opinion, your reaſons for encreaſing the number of the Board were founded on a ſuppoſition, that this meaſure would conduce to the benefit of the Company. Experience convinces us of the contrary; and we ſhould be wanting in duty to our conſtituents, if, from a ſervile regard to the letter, we neglected the evident ſenſe and meaning of your Inſtructions, by admitting to the government of your affairs a number of perſons who have certainly no other claim to this diſtinction, than that of ſtanding next in ſucceſſion.

It is therefore with the utmoſt regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole liſt of your junior merchants there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could poſſibly recommend to higher ſtations at preſent.

In this number juſtice requires we ſhould mention Mr. Campbell, Secretary to this Committee, whoſe abilities and indefatigable diligence, of which we have had the moſt convincing proofs in the courſe of our proceedings, entitle him to this inſtance of our regard, and to your particular notice; and as the ſame qualifications will diſtinguiſh him in any ſtation in your ſervice, it is our joint requeſt, that you will pleaſe to remove the reſtriction on his riſing, as a covenant-ſervant, and ſuffer him to take rank accordingly from the date of his appointment.

30. At all times it has been found expedient to deviate occaſionally from this general rule of preferring ſeniority. It now becomes your indiſpenſible duty to admit no claim but that of merit, if you would preſerve the valuable poſſeſſions you enjoy, and realize the very near proſpect you have of eſtabliſhing your affairs on ſo firm and ſolid a baſis as nothing but miſconduct can overſet. So much reſts with the Board, that on your judicious impartial ſelection of the members it depends, whether you hold a foot of land, and enjoy a privilege in Bengal; or whether you continue in poſſeſſion of the moſt ample revenues and eſtabliſhed extenſive influence ever eſtabliſhed by any European mercantile body. We therefore moſt earneſtly exhort you, that no conſideration of favour or prejudice be ſuffered to biaſs you in the important buſineſs of compoſing your Council; and that no other diſtinction be admitted, except what is due to ability, to integrity, and to faithful eſſential ſervices.

Were we to ſpeak our own ſentiments further, we ſhould confeſs it to be out firm opinion, founded on the experience now before us, that the buſineſs of this government can never ſo effectually be conducted as by a ſelect unanimous Committee. By dividing the power into many hands you weaken the authority, promote diſſention, and deprive your meaſures of that ſecreſy, ſteadineſs, vigour, and diſpatch neceſſary

to their succefs. The fame means by which you obtained the great advantages you now enjoy, muft be continued, and conftantly exerted, to fecure and perpetuate them; and, indeed, we can think of no other form of government fo well adapted, fo perfectly congenial to your peculiar prefent circumftances in Bengal.

31. It will not be neceffary, we apprehend, to dwell upon a refutation of the fpecious but flimfy arguments advanced by Mr. Leycefter for immediately filling up the vacancies at the Board, and purfuing the literal fenfe of your Inftructions, when you enlarge the Board to fixteen. We have already fhewn, and Mr. Leycefter does not deny it, that the bufinefs of Burdwan and Midnapore may be conducted to greater advantage by junior fervants than by Members of the Council. We have alfo fhewn, that enlarging the Council beyond the number required for the bufinefs of the Prefidency and Subordinates has proved injurious to the Company. He knows it is our determination, that feven or eight Members fhould conftantly refide at the Prefidency, while all proper attention fhall be given to your inveftment and collections; and this we certainly judge to be the fpirit of your orders. But if that gentleman means, that no act can be valid which is executed by a lefs number of Agents than you have exprefly appointed, he renders void every deed, covenant, contract, treaty, and obligation, entered into by the Council fince the firft eftablifhment of this fettlement; he even renders null and of no effect the treaty with the prefent Nabob, in which he himfelf had a principal fhare, and which, we believe, is not figned by more than half the Company's Agents.

In a word, we forefee fo many inconveniences confequent on a literal compliance with your inftructions, that our duty obliges us to fufpend, and we think our powers authorize us in fufpending at leaft, if not revoking thofe orders, until your further pleafure be known.

32. By confulting our Proceedings of the 10th of Auguft, and 18th of September, you will be able to judge of the progrefs we have made in carrying your orders into execution, relative to the trade in falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. This fubject we confidered with all the attention poffible, and regard to your intereft, and the good of the fervice. We found that to remove the inconveniencies of a free trade, prevent the oppreffions daily committed, fave this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffufe the benefits refulting indifcriminately among all your fervants entitled to Duftucks, it was neceffary to inveft the whole in an exclufive company, compofed of the three firft claffes of your covenanted fervants, the field officers, chaplains, and head furgeons. In admitting the field officers, and ftating the proportions allotted to each clafs, we had particular regard to the prefent fituation of your Council, and field officers, who are now excluded many emoluments they before enjoyed. It is our opinion, that gentlemen who have rifen to thofe ftations with credit and reputation, are certainly entitled to fomething more than a fubfiftence: they even have a right to expect fuch advantages in your fervice, as may enable them to return in a few years with independence to their native country.

With refpect to the Company, we are unanimoufly of opinion, it is more for their intereft to be confidered as Superiors than Proprictors; and, as the royal grant of the Dewanny renders the 11th article unneceffary, we are thereby enabled to fubject the trade to a duty which will produce a clear annual revenue of 120,000 l. fterling; whatever furplus of their revenues the Company may find themfelves poffeffed of, after difcharging all the demands in this Prefidency, we imagine may be employed much more to their benefit, in fupporting and extending the China trade, and affifting the wants of the other Prefidencies. However, fhould it either appear that we have miftaken the Company's real intereft, or that the profits of the trade will admit of encreafed duties, it is our refolution to give all poffible fatisfaction on thofe points to

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our Honourable Masters; and to lay before you a fair, full and candid representation of the amount of the costs, charges and sales of the first year.

33. We think it incumbent on us to observe, that the management of this important business was committed to Mr. Sumner. If the plan, therefore, should prove so fortunate as to meet your approbation, the merit is chiefly due to that gentleman, who spared no pains to acquire a thorough insight into the subject, at the same time that he discharged the duties of the Presidency, during Lord Clive's absence, much to our satisfaction. Mr. Sumner would have chearfully accepted the post of Resident at the Durbar, now grown an employment of consequence, since the grant of the Dewanny; but we judged it to be more becoming his station, more agreeable to your intention, and more for the benefit of the service, that he should remain at the Presidency to take charge of the government in case of Lord Clive's absence.

We therefore determined to appoint Mr. Sykes to the Durbar, as he has already sufficiently manifested his capacity and diligence in that employment.

34. When these dispatches are finished, we resolve to apply ourselves heartily to a reformation of the abuses which have crept into almost all your public offices, and every department civil and military. The task is arduous, but not impracticable, and we are assured it becomes highly necessary to the service. The same unanimity which hath enabled the Committee to dispatch so great a variety of important affairs since their establishment, shall, we hope, be firmly continued and vigorously exerted, until we have accomplished every end proposed at our appointment; until we have stemmed the torrent of luxury and corruption, and established a spirit of industry, œconomy, and integrity, throughout every class of your servants.

We beg leave to conclude with assuring you, that it is the highest ambition of this Committee to merit the confidence reposed in them, by promoting with their utmost diligence and abilities, the honour and interest of the East India Company, which have ever been the objects of their most fervent wishes.

We have the Honour to be, with respect,

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

SUPPLEMENT.

In justice to the memory of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, we think it incumbent on us to acquaint you, that the horrible massacres wherewith he is charged by Mr. Holwell, in his Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock (page 46) are cruel aspersions on the character of that Prince, which have not the least foundation in truth. The several persons there affirmed, and who were generally thought to have been murdered by his order, are all now living except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nabob's consent or knowledge; and it is with additional satisfaction we can assure you, that they are lately released from confinement by the present Subah, which fully evinces the entire confidence he reposes in the Company's protection, against all attacks on his government.

We

We are further to acquaint you, that not satisfied with paying all due attention to the confirmation and security of your possessions in Bengal, Lord Clive has also obtained from the King, Sunnuds for the five Northern Provinces, and the strongest ratification under his Majesty's hand and seal, of all your former possessions in the Carnatic.

Mr. Sykes has exerted his utmost diligence in procuring an exact estimate of the amount of the revenues of the Nabob's dominions, of which you are not only the Collectors but the Proprietors; and we are in hopes of transmitting an accurate account of the same by the Admiral Stevens; but the books of the Sircar are so much behind, so many balances are outstanding, and such negligence appears in the collection of the revenues for some years past, owing, in a great measure, to the disturbances in the country, which prevented any regular collections from being made, that he has not been able yet to succeed to his entire satisfaction; we therefore think it better to postpone the subject until our next dispatches, when we can write with precision and certainty. At present, we can only affirm, that the acquisition of the Dewanny, and the agreement with the Nabob, will necessarily turn out a prodigious increase of your revenues, at the same time it must conduce to the stability of your power and influence.

You will observe in our general letter from the public department, what has passed in Council on the subject of the donation to the navy, which is indeed no more than a transcript of our Consultations. We here think it necessary to remark, that we cannot, in the present circumstances of your affairs, and consistently with our late engagements with the Nabob, either take upon us to pay so large a demand out of your revenues, or insist upon the Nabob's paying it out of his limited stipend; more especially as it appears that the donation to the navy was never voluntary, but obtained from Meer Jaffier by dint of solicitation, and other means, which never met with his intire approbation.

It is with some regret we acquaint you, that we apprehend it will be necessary to resume our late enquiry into the conduct of the Deputation, having just received information from Nundcomar of further sums paid to them out of the Nabob's treasury, during their residence at Murshed-abad. Mr. Johnstone makes a principal and conspicuous figure in this account also, having obtained a very large sum besides what is specified in the distribution list, or the narratives of Mahomed Reza Cawn and Juggutseat, which with the sums received by the other gentlemen, fully accounts for the Nabob's assertions in his letter addressed to the Committee. The necessity we are under of dispatching the ship, in order to receive the earliest notice of your sentiments on our proceedings, and your further instructions, prevents our entering immediately upon the enquiry; of which, however, you may be assured, we shall transmit a faithful and particular account in our next advices.

CLIVE, W.B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

To

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Jan. 31. 1766.

1. We have now the honour to tranſmit the ſequel of thoſe Proceedings of the Select Committee, which were diſpatched the 30th of September, by the Admiral Stevens, and alſo a duplicate of our letter of that date.

2. The conjectures we then formed, with reſpect to the ſyſtem which the Committee found it neceſſary to adopt, have, in the event, correſponded to our warmeſt expectations; and it is with extreme ſatisfaction we can aſſure you, that a happy proſpect is daily opening to our view, of ſecurity and opulence to the Company. Money flowing into your Treaſury; contentment expreſſed by the Country Government; and Peace diffuſing her bleſſings throughout every diſtrict of the Nabob's dominions, are to us the moſt pleaſing teſtimonies of the rectitude of the meaſures we purſued, when the late grants were obtained.

The more we reflect on the ſituation of your affairs, the ſtronger appear the reaſons for accepting the Dewanny of theſe provinces, by which alone we could eſtabliſh a power ſufficient to perpetuate the poſſeſſions we hold, and the influence we enjoy. While the Nabob acted in quality of Collector for the Mogul, the means of ſupporting our military eſtabliſhment depended upon his pleaſure. In the moſt critical ſituations, while we ſtood ballancing on the extreme border of deſtruction, his ſtipulated payments were ſlow and deficient, his revenues with-held by diſaffected Rajahs, and turbulent Zemindars, who deſpiſed the weakneſs of his government; or they were ſquandered in profuſion, and diſſipated in corruption, the never-failing ſymptoms of a declining conſtitution and feeble adminiſtration. Hence we were frequently diſappointed of thoſe ſupplies, upon the punctual receipt of which depended the very exiſtence of the company in Bengal.

We cannot indeed look back without horror, upon that deſperate criſis to which your affairs were reduced, when a mutinous ſpirit prevailed among your troops, when diſſentions diſtracted your conſultations, and a powerful army was invading the provinces, to ſeize and deſolate your poſſeſſions, and probably to extirpate your ſervants. To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done, and graſp at the whole power, or to ſhrink back into our primitive condition of ſimple merchants, to abandon our poſſeſſions, diſband our forces, and reſt our future hopes on the clemency of princes, who will not eaſily forget or forgive the ſuperiority we have ſo long maintained.

In a word, this laſt meaſure was in itſelf impracticable; for we muſt obſerve, altho' with much regret, that the miſconduct of individuals hath rendered the Engliſh name ſo odious, that we are no longer ſecure than whilſt our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and property.

3. The ſeveral ſtatements entered in the Committee Proceedings, ſhew clearly the amount of revenues to be collected this year into the Treaſury, excluſive of thoſe iſſuing from the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the Calcutta lands, and all your former poſſeſſions. At preſent they ſtand incumbered with a variety of ſuperfluous charges, which we hope to reduce, when we come to adjuſt the collections of the enſuing year; but we thought it adviſeable to avoid introducing innovations, which might create diſguſt and diſſatisfaction at ſo early a period of our government. The next balance, amounting to 212 lacks of Sicca rupees, or 286,200 *l.* ſterling, will be the more readily paid, that the miniſters and officers of the government can have nothing to plead in excuſe for deficiencies; and we have reaſon to believe it will not

fall

fall greatly ſhort of the ſtated amount. This ballance is abundantly ſufficient to ſupply your China trade, provide for our own inveſtment, and defray all the expences of your civil and military eſtabliſhment: whatever ſurplus may remain in the treaſury after the ſtipends to the King and Nabob are diſcharged, and all other more immediate demands are anſwered, this, together with the revenues of Burdwan, &c. ſhall then be applied to relieve the wants of the other Préſidencies, to pay off your bonds, and to ſuch other purpoſes as may appear to us the moſt conducive to your intereſt.

4. Mr. Sykes, who was ſome time ſince appointed reſident at the Durbar, and Supervisor of the collections, hath now taken charge of the factory at Coſſimbazar, upon Mr. Senior's application for leave to return to Europe. The great diligence he has exerted in ſettling the revenues, and forming the ſtatements, as well as ſhewn to the other ſeveral objects of the adminiſtration, afford us the utmoſt reaſon to be highly ſatisfied with his conduct. He is daily making remittances, the firſt fruits of the collections to the treaſury, whereby we are already enabled to ſet apart a ſupply of * twenty-four lacks for your China inveſtment, † twelve of which are now under diſpatch for Canton; the remainder will be ſent in the month of February to Madraſs, to be forwarded from thence to China, by the earlieſt conveyance.

When the collections of the year are cloſed, we have directed Mr. Sykes to enquire ſtrictly into the ballances due to the government, and to uſe every poſſible endeavour to recover them, as we entertain the moſt flattering hope, that from theſe arrears will ariſe a fund ſufficient to diſcharge all the public demands on the late Nabob, for which your honour may ſtand any way engaged.

5. Notwithſtanding theſe immenſe revenues, of which the Company is actually poſſeſſed, we muſt earneſtly requeſt your ſerious attention to the conſequences of our impoveriſhing the country, by ſuch annual exports of treaſure to China. We muſt alſo recommend, that you deviſe ſome method of enabling your ſervants, and the inhabitants of the ſettlement, to remit their own fortune, and the effects of deceaſed perſons in their hands, by ſome other channel than that of bills upon France and Holland. You are now in a ſituation which will never require your receiving private effects into the treaſury, to be able to complete your own inveſtment. Your collections are adequate to every purpoſe and demand which we can foreſee. The Governor and Council could not therefore, with any propriety, ſubject you to the inconvenience of anſwering bills to the amount of § forty or ‖ fifty lacks, merely for the benefit of your ſervants, and ſuffer your own money to lie dead and unappropriated in the treaſury. Indeed we were particularly cautious of drawing largely for this year, in order that you might be able to diſcharge your more immediate and preſſing engagements at home. Yet, ſhould the neceſſity continue of remitting private property by foreign funds, the French and Dutch will not only be enabled thereby to provide early and valuable inveſtments, but the provinces will alſo be deprived of a very conſiderable addition to the current ſpecie, which thoſe nations will otherwiſe be obliged to import every year in ready money.

To obviate as far as poſſible any immediate bad effects to the public from the above cauſes, the Preſident has now under conſideration a propoſal to prevent the exportation of treaſure from occaſioning a ſcarcity of money for ſome years at leaſt. Yet as this propoſal rather tends to palliate, than effectually to remedy the evil, it is from your inſtructions only that we are to expect a radical cure.

6. The opportunity which the reſtoration of peace affords for carrying into execution your orders relative to the Batta allowed to military officers, will contribute greatly to the increaſe of your ſurplus fund. Thoſe orders, although reaſonable and neceſſary, could not, however, be conveniently enforced before the public tranquility,

* 300,000 *l.* † 150,000 *l.* § 500,000 *l.* ‖ 625,000 *l.*

lity, and military discipline and subordination, were firmly established. It was also necessary to devise the means of their living cheaper, and of supplying them with liquors, and other stores, at a more moderate price than those articles had usually been furnished. We must likewise observe, that regimenting the troops has not only conduced to the reformation we proposed, but facilitated the reduction of expence you enjoin; a soldier, who knows and performs his duty, will neither expect nor require the superfluities and luxuries of life.

Accordingly we have ordained, that on the first day of the present month, the customary Batta shall be struck off from the troops in general, excepting the brigade stationed in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, who, on account of the high price of provision, and the difficulty of procuring stores, will be allowed double Batta in the field, and half double Batta in cantonments and in garrison, until they are recalled to the provinces.

For the same reasons half Batta is continued to the troops quartered at Patna and Mongheer; but the rest of the army, we mean the detachments at subordinates and other places, that are not engaged in actual service, are reduced precisely on a footing with the Company's forces on the coast; even those stationed at Mongheer and Patna receive the same exact Batta as your troops at Trichinopoly.

From such regulations, and also from the check already given to the many shameful abuses committed in musters, returns, hospital bills, boats, and other articles, we may affirm with confidence, that the charges of your whole establishment, civil and military, including your fortifications, will fall short of the amount expended during the course of the late war on your army alone; and yet it is proposed, if you supply us duly with recruits, to maintain the complete establishment projected by Lord Clive, and the most formidable army that ever took the field in Bengal. From what causes your military expences swelled to such immeasurable bounds, requires no explanation. Certain it is, they far exceeded the supplies so liberally voted by the British parliament, for an army of auxiliaries employed to oppose the combined forces of the most powerful princes in Christendom.

7. To these schemes of œconomy, permit us to add the late resolution of this Committee, regarding the new works erecting for the security of your servants and property. Those works have, for several years past, been a perpetual drain for treasures, which might have been more usefully applied; yet should we ever meet with the misfortune of being driven off the field, and cooped up within the walls of this fort, your affairs may then be considered as desperate and irrecoverable. It is therefore the unanimous opinion of this Committee, confirmed by the sentiments of the chief engineer, that we ought to regard the new works as a temporary security only; for which purpose the ditch, ramparts, bastions, and ravelin already finished, are sufficient to withstand the greatest force which the powers of this country are ever likely to assemble.

Captain Martin farther delivers it as his opinion, that enlarging the fortifications conformably to the plan of the intended outworks, would add nothing to the strength of the place, unless we could at the same time maintain a garrison proportioned to their extent; we resolved therefore not to proceed on the plan beyond what is now completed, but to use all possible means to check the incroachments of the river, which hath advanced within a few yards of the covert way, and threatens to sweep away one intire side of the fort.

We shall also make all the dispatch we are able in completing the barracks, some of which we have converted into very commodious apartments for the writers, lately arrived; and we are convinced it would be much for the benefit of the service, if all the younger servants, and the public offices, were collected within so narrow a compass,

pafs, as might fubject them to clofer infpection than is poffible in their prefent fituation.

8. Mahomed Reza Cawn, and the minifters we affociated with him to conduct the bufinefs of the country government, proceed with alacrity and unanimity, under direction of Mr. Sykes, the refident. They, as well as the people in general, exprefs great fatisfaction at the orders we lately iffued and enforced, for recalling to the Prefidency all free merchants, and other Europeans, who are not in your covenanted fervice, many of whom had, by interfering with public affairs, by acts of oppreffion and violence, and by affuming and exerting a judicial authority, totally perverted the ordinary courfe of juftice, and given great interruption to the bufinefs of the adminiftration; yet we muft lament that the juft and neceffary punifhment inflicted upon thofe who had committed abufes, fhould unavoidably extend to others who always acted with integrity and honour.

9. The more effectually to remove every caufe of complaint, and render the minifters refponfible for the collections of the ftated revenue, we have directed that none befides thofe who are employed in certain public ftations, fhall in future correfpond with officers of the government, hold lands, lend money to the Zemindars, or take any other means of improving their fortunes, or acquiring influence in the country, that may tend to difturb, diftrefs, or defraud either the adminiftration or the people; and this prohibition we have extended to all your fervants, civil and military, and their dependents. It was the earneft requeft of the minifters, that we fhould impofe fuch reftrictions; and we thought compliance but reafonable, as we were well affured that the revenue had fuffered from the excefs to which thefe practices were carried.

In one inftance, however, we have taken the liberty of deviating from your orders for recalling the free merchants, &c. The plan for conducting the joint inland trade, in the articles of falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, is in itfelf fo extenfive, the capital required fo very confiderable, and the difficulty of procuring money at a moderate intereft fo great, that it becomes indifpenfibly neceffary the accounts of the fociety fhould be clofed, and their books ballanced with more difpatch than can be expected, fhould black Gomaftahs and agents be employed. For this reafon, and becaufe we are willing to promote to the utmoft of our power a fcheme which appears well calculated for your intereft and the general benefit, we have permitted the committee of trade to appoint European agents for difpofing of the fociety's concerns at certain eftablifhed marts, in different parts of the country; and as for this purpofe the Company's fervants could not be fpared from the Prefidency and Subordinates, thofe agents are therefore chofen from the lift of free merchants, with the utmoft attention to their characters and former behaviour. Befides which we have ftrictly confined them to the bufinefs of the fociety by fuch fevere penalties and reftrictions, as we think muft effectually prevent their giving hindrance or moleftation. Should we find thefe limitations infufficient to fecure the peace of the country, and remove all caufe of complaint, we are then determined to recall them, and commit the bufinefs to black agents.

11. Farther to affift this valuable branch of commerce, and promote the credit of the infant fociety, the Governor and Council have, at the requeft of the Committee of trade, figned and executed a deed for better fecuring to the fociety the free and exclufive purchafe and fale of the articles of falt, &c. from the 1ft of September 1765, to the 30th of Auguft 1766, allowing a fufficient time to difpofe of fuch ftock as may be provided for the feafon, in order to prevent the great lofs that muft arife to the proprietors, fhould any alteration take place by your order, after the concerns for the year are begun, and before the fame are concluded. We therefore flatter

ter ourselves with your intire approbation of this measure, so essential to the due execution of the plan formed by your permission, and with all possible regard to your interest.

12. Our proceedings point out clearly the increase of your rents, issuing from the Calcutta lands; and the several minutes entered upon that subject explain our sentiments on the prospect we have of rating the Pergunnahs still higher, without exaction or oppression. It evidently appears to us, that considerable frauds were formerly committed in these collections; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leases granted to the present farmers shall expire on the 1st day of November next. By that time we hope to find leisure to ascertain their value more exactly; at least we shall then silence the clamour of the inhabitants against what they deem a monopoly, by universally diffusing and extending the benefits arising from the possession of lands among the most substantial and reputable Banyans and black merchants living under your protection.

13. Most earnestly do we wish that such shameful embezzlement of the public money were confined to those lands situated more immediately under the eyes of the Governor and Council, since nothing besides the greatest inattention and misconduct could then prevent the detection of abuses; but should a general depravity of manners prevail, and your servants, acting in the highest stations, be restrained neither by motives of conscience, nor by principles of honour, the discovery of frauds at places remote from the Presidency will then become difficult and merely accidental.

This evidently appears from the state of the Midnapore revenues, which for three years past have yielded * 250,000 rupees more than were ever placed, as they ought, to the Company's credit. Our recalling the factory, and appointing Mr. Verelst supervisor, and Mr. Graham president, brought this unwarrantable transaction to light, which might otherwise have lain in profound obscurity, until chance had produced a resident, whose sense of honour, and feelings of conscience, were stronger than the impulses of private interest.

Yet fortunate to the Company as this discovery will certainly be considered, we must confess it occasions great embarrassment to our proceedings, unless we would deviate on the one hand or the other from that duty which we owe to our Constituents. It was firmly our intention to avoid farther retrospection of the conduct of an administration so notoriously corrupt, and meanly venal, throughout every department, in hopes the examples already made would sufficiently deter others, and work a reformation. It was the correction of abuses, and not the punishment of past misconduct, that we proposed, although we endeavoured to avoid exposing ourselves, either to the censure of partiality, or the heavier charge of unfaithfulness to our employers.

In this, as in many other instances, we considered that a scrutiny into the particulars of the embezzlement would be unprofitable to you, while it would at the same time occasion great obstruction to our consultations, and might end in the necessity of diminishing the number of your Council, already much reduced by the death of one, the suspension of another, and the resignation of four members of that board.

We must farther beg leave to observe, that we cannot help regarding the late resident as far less culpable than any of his immediate predecessors, who may be said to have chalked out the path, and guided his steps by the false light that misled him; certain it is, that should you disapprove our lenity, the same decree in law and equity which will oblige Mr. Watts to refund, will also oblige his predecessors to make restitution.

From these considerations, therefore, we resolve to leave it in the option of your Honourable Board, to prosecute or relinquish your claim to such ballances as ought to have been applied to your credit, contenting ourselves with giving you the necessary

* 31,250 *l.*

information of facts, and taking the most effectual means to prevent such practices in future.

14. For reasons of a similar nature, we decline resuming any farther consideration of the conduct of the Board and deputation during the late negociations at Murshedabad. Already our consultations have been too much interrupted with cavilling, debate and faction. We are heartily sick of the fruitless labour of raking in the jakes of corruption; and should we enter upon close inquiries, we must again wholly suspend the course of current business. You have before you sufficient proofs, whether those gentlemen distinguished more zeal for your service, or attachment to their own interest; and should you be disposed, for the sake of example, to attempt the recovering of those sums, obtained so unwarrantably from the Nabob and his ministers, we apprehend the evidences transmitted are strong and explicit enough to ground an action upon in any court of judicature.

15. It remains with us to offer a few remarks upon that letter which Mr. Johnstone sent into the Board, just as the Admiral Stevens was under sail, as if he apprehended lest some bold assertions he advanced might be refuted before he was out of reach of the shame consequent on detection. Many of these assertions are so mean, so contrary to truth, and to Mr. Johnstone's own knowledge, that we read them with equal surprize and contempt; sensible that he must be hard pressed indeed to support a sinking reputation, who has recourse to falshood to justify misconduct.

16. This gentleman thinks it necessary, after three months preparation, to apologize for a lame and unseasonable defence, by affirming, that he was denied all access to the papers relative to himself, until a few days before his departure. Mr. Johnstone forgot that he acknowledges the receipt of those very papers, in a note he wrote to our Secretary, in the month of June, before we came to any determination, which note is now in the Secretary's possession. He also forgot that the letters of Messrs. Senior and Middleton, inserted in our proceedings of the 21st of June, prove that all the evidences and proceedings upon that occasion, were regularly transmitted to those gentlemen who were not present at the Board. He ought, therefore, to avail himself of the first plea, and refuse rather to acknowledge the authority of the Committee, than thus to skulk behind a pitiful untruth.

From the deep fund of critical learning which Mr. Johnstone displays in the country language, we might reasonably expect a more perfect knowledge of the power and idiom of his mother tongue; for after torturing the phrase *Cooch booligani*, to make our proceedings appear unfair and partial, he is at length forced to construe it into a signification that implies a stronger menace that can possibly be conveyed in the words of our translation. The least acquaintance with the English language will enable any man to determine whether, in the circumstances there represented, Mr. Johnstone's expression, "I will be silent," doth not imply a more emphatic menace than the words which we ascribe to him, "Your business will meet with no countenance;" inasmuch as the one declares all that is meant; whereas the other intimates a harsher meaning than he would chuse to express?

Mr. Johnstone insinuates, by way of reflection on the management of the Committee, that we were under the necessity of applying to the Seats for the loan of a lack and a half of * rupees; the fact is true, but it rests with Mr. Johnstone and his associates at the Board to explain how the Company's treasury came to be at so low an ebb, as to want so poor a supply. It also rests with them to explain how the Nabob (for our first application was to the Nabob) came to be so impoverished by presents made to the Deputation, that he could not furnish even this small relief to the necessities of the Company; and it rests particularly with Mr. Johnstone to assign the reason, why a ballance of † six lacks was due from Burdwan to your exhausted treasury, whilst he was

* 18,750 *l.* † 75,000 *l.*

was filling his own pockets at the Durbar, which ballance was afterwards collected by Mr. Verelst.

What he remarks on our opinion of Mr. Leycester, delivered in our Proceedings of the 21st of June, is also very true. That gentleman had jointly, with Mr. Johnstone, received bills from Mahomed Reza Cawn; but as he declared upon oath, that he had no intention of benefiting by them, it was surely incumbent on the Committee to acquit him in a public opinion. We should have acquitted Mr. Johnstone, likewise, if he had made the same solemn declaration; but our private sentiments of that oath we should have reserved, as in Mr. Leycester's case, to our letter to the Court of Directors, for an oath may silence an accusation of crimes, but it doth not necessarily produce conviction of innocence.

Mr. Johnstone has tacked to this extraordinary defence, certain letters written to him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and his own agent Mooteram, as vouchers for his good behaviour during the negociation. With respect to these letters, we observe, they were obtained at a period when it may reasonably be supposed that such testimonies durst not not be refused, on account of the extraordinary authority which Mr. Johnstone had just before assumed at the Durbar. It may also be observed, from Mahomed Reza Cawn's letter, that great apprehensions were conceived, lest the Nabob should come to Calcutta, to lay his complaints before the Committee; and Mr. Johnstone knows that interest was made with the then Resident, to prevail on him to exert his utmost influence in preventing a visit, which it was thought would not bring much honour to the Deputation. We leave it therefore to your Honourable Board, to determine, whether those testimonies, at the best, will justify Mr. Johnstone from the charge of extortion, and weigh down against the most positive evidence that can be given upon any matter of fact. Be this as it will, we think it necessary to correct Mr. Johnstone's mistake, when he affirms, that Mahomed Reza Cawn's first deposition takes no notice of any demand made in the name of the deputations. A reference to that deposition will satisfy you that Mr. Johnstone either reads without attention, or that he quotes without candour.

It would be endless to pursue Mr. Johnstone through the tedious maze of error and misrepresentation, so evident in every page of his letter; permit us, therefore, to refer you for a more particular reply to the Proceedings themselves, to Lord Clive's minute, and those of the members of the Select Committee, entered in the Appendix, already transmitted by the Admiral Stevens.

As to Mr. Johnstone's management in the Burdwan province, we could wish he had suffered us to cover with the veil of silence transactions that will not bear examination. He hath now, by his ill-judged strictures on Mr. Verelst's memorial, obliged that gentleman to mention what, out of tenderness to Mr. Johnstone, he was unwilling to reveal.

You will observe, from the Consultations, that Mr. Leycester stands suspended, and that Mr. Gray resigned the service, while his conduct, during his residence at Maulda, was under consideration of the Board. You will also perceive the obstruction given to all public business, by cavilling, debate, and unseasonable minutes, while these two gentlemen remained at the Board. Those minutes are themselves sufficient testimony of the spirit which actuated so extraordinary a behaviour; they are indecent, violent, and factious, beyond any thing ever before tolerated in this government in the most licentious of times.

Messrs. Leycester and Gray no sooner perceive the lash of correction removed, than they, unmindful of the lenity of the Committee, when we might with propriety, and indeed ought to have suspended them the service, set up a determined opposition, and dared to ridicule and insult the government upon all occasions; yet we bore this usage with patience,

patience, out of regard to your ſituation, and replied to their minutes with temper, until Mr. Leyceſter proceeded to ſuch lengths of licentiouſneſs, as tended to involve the ſettlement in anarchy and civil diſſention. He publiſhed an expreſſion haſtily dropt at the Board by General Carnac, with ſuch additional aggravating circumſtances, as were beſt calculated to raiſe a ferment in the minds of the people, and excite the inhabitants to open ſedition. The alarm that we were about to introduce a military government became ſo general, we thought it incumbent on us to trace the author of ſuch dangerous calumny; and, upon conviction, that Mr. Leyceſter had forged and publiſhed it with a deſign of weakening the hands of the adminiſtration, we judged it neceſſary to ſuſpend him as unworthy of his ſtation in your ſervice.

18. We need not take up your time in juſtifying a meaſure that became indiſpenſibly neceſſary, unleſs we meant to relinquiſh all attempts to effect that general reformation ſo eſſential to the ſtability and permanency of your poſſeſſions. Mr. Leyceſter had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every meaſure which tended to the correction of abuſes; and, even whilſt he was acting in the capacity of a magiſtrate and judge, moſt ſhamefully endeavoured to ſuppreſs, pervert, and ſtifle evidence relative to Mr. Gray's conduct. His own minute on the occaſion that produced his ſuſpenſion, ſo thoroughly points out the violent deſigns he entertained, that we could ſit no longer at the ſame Board with any regard to our own characters, or proſpect of advantage to your ſervice. From the loud cry raiſed by Mr. Gray and him againſt military force and arbitrary power, one would naturally conceive the Preſident had deprived half the Britiſh ſubjects in the ſettlement of their birth-right. The fact, however, was nothing more than that Lord Clive had ordered a guard of Sepoys over Ramnaut, a man of infamous character, ſaid to be employed by Mr. Gray, in the moſt iniquitous acts of extortion, and a native of Maulda, who himſelf refuſed to claim the protection of our laws, becauſe he ſhould thereby become ſubject to the puniſhment to which thoſe laws condemn his offences; whereas, numberleſs inſtances occur in former governments in Bengal of native inhabitants of Calcutta being confined by military guards, upon accuſations of infinitely leſs conſequence to the public weal. In ſhort, thoſe two gentlemen themſelves were ſo diſſatisfied, ſo diſcontented and induſtrious in propagating the ſeeds of their ill humour, that we are firmly convinced the ſuſpenſion of the one was neceſſary, and that the reſignation of the other is conducive to the benefit of your ſervice. Yet theſe are the gentlemen who, we are told, flatter themſelves with the hopes of juſtifying their conduct to your ſatiſfaction, and of returning again to the management of your concerns in Bengal: ſhould this event ever happen, we have only to wiſh, and we fervently do wiſh, although contrary to all human probability, that your affairs may proſper.

19. The Board being now reduced far beneath the eſtabliſhment we propoſed, and to a numb.r inſufficient to conduct the neceſſary buſineſs of the government, filling the vacant ſeats became an immediate object of conſideration. By the Admiral Stevens we freely delivered our ſentiments of the unfitneſs for that ſtation of thoſe gentlemen who ſtand next in ſucceſſion. We alſo recommended with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that in compoſing your Council, you would admit of no claim but that of merit and approved ſervices. We muſt now again beg leave to repeat, that from a liſt of fourteen junior merchants, we are not able to ſelect a number ſufficient to make up the deficiency of members at the Board, unleſs we abandon all hopes of curbing licentiouſneſs, reforming abuſes, and ſubduing that univerſal paſſion which prevails among your ſervants of accumulating riches in a manner inconſiſtent with the good of the country and with your intereſt. The factious ſpirit which lately blazed out ſo violently in Council, has reached the lower claſſes; ſo that we can entertain no reaſonable hope from their cordial ſervices, until they have felt the weight of correction, and experienced

rienced the influence of example. Still, however, we ſhould be ſorry to deprive them of all proſpect of riſing, by promoting their juniors on this eſtabliſhment, ſince time and the certain aſſurance, that merit and not ſtanding will entitle them to your favours, may produce the deſired effect upon their conduct.

20. For theſe reaſons we applied to the Preſidency of Fort St. George, requeſting that Meſſrs. Ruſſel, Alderſey, Kelſal, and Floyer, might be permitted to aſſiſt us in the preſent exigency, until your pleaſure ſhould be known; being fully perſuaded that this preference of the ſervants of another Preſidency, will operate more effectually than if we had recourſe to the more irkſome and mortifying indignity of ſuperſeding them from this eſtabliſhment.

We are ſorry to find that our endeavours to ſerve the Company in a manner the leaſt injurious to your ſervants here, ſhould be miſconſtrued. As ſoon as this meaſure became known, by reports from Madraſs, and previous to our laying any proceedings before the Board, the young gentlemen of the ſettlement had ſet themſelves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit: each would think himſelf qualified to tranſact your weighty affairs in Council, at an age when the laws of his country adjudge him unfit to manage his own concerns to the extent of forty ſhillings. They have not only ſet their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into aſſociations unbecoming at their years, and deſtructive of that ſubordination without which no government can ſtand—All viſits to the Preſident are forbidden—All invitations from him and the members of the Select Committee are to be ſlighted—The gentlemen called down by our authority from Madraſs are to be treated with neglect and contempt—Every man who deviates from this confederacy is to be ſtigmatized and avoided—In a word, the members are totally to ſeparate themſelves from the head, decorum and union are to be ſet at defiance, and it becomes a fair ſtruggle whether we or the young gentlemen ſhall in future guide the helm of government. Look at their names, examine their ſtanding, inquire into their ſervices, and reflect upon the age of four-fifths of the ſubſcribers to this bill of grievances, who now ſupport the aſſociation, and you will be equally ſurpriſed with us at the preſumptuous intemperance of youth, and convinced that a ſtop of three or four years in the courſe of promotion is indiſpenſibly neceſſary, if you would have your Council compoſed of men of experience and diſcretion.

21. From this ſketch of the behaviour of your ſervants, you will perceive the dangerous pitch to which the independent and licentious ſpirit of this ſettlement hath riſen; you will then determine on the neceſſity and propriety of the ſtep we have taken: in the mean time we are reſolved to ſupport it, or we muſt ſubmit to the anarchy and confuſion conſequent on ſubjecting the decrees of your Select Committee to the reviſal and repeal of young gentlemen juſt broke looſe from the hands of their ſchoolmaſters. Earneſtly do we wiſh that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the ſame ſentiments, ſince diſſents only ſerve to break the force of reſolutions, to weaken authority, and give vigour and courage to faction and diſobedience.

As to the point of indignity, of which your petitioners complain, nothing can be more evident than that the Committee regarded the preſent ſuperceſſion as leſs injurious than a ſelection would be from this eſtabliſhment, ſince we even declined promoting, upon this occaſion, the very perſons whom we particularly recommended to the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of your favour. In this light it is conſidered in every other ſervice, and we doubt not but it would have been ſo conſidered in this ſervice, had ſuch promotion been the choice of the Committee.

22. Our proceedings explain the motives of our conduct, and alſo the meaſures we enforced to bring the ſettlement to order and obedience. Mr. Majendie, the

S.cretary

Secretary to the Council, is dismissed from his office, and suspended the service for having eminently distinguished himself in forming a combination so unwarrantable in itself, so dangerous in the present conjuncture, and so peculiarly unbecoming to his age, his station, and his employment. Should this example suffice, we shall avoid proceeding to the extremity of punishing with the loss of bread, young men who have been artfully and unwarily spirited up to faction, to gratify the resentment, the selfish views of some, in whom you have reposed unmerited and much abused confidence.

You will be astonished to observe at the head of this list divers members of your Council, who subscribe their names in testimony of their sense of the injustice done to the younger servants. Possibly this testimony might have weight with your Honourable Board had those gentlemen first cleared up their own conduct from certain imputations which intimate how little their interest disposes them to co-operate in a reformation for the public benefit. At all events, whether the proceeding of the Committee be in itself right or wrong, it is most certainly their duty to repress every factious combination, to temper the heat and vehemence of youth, to maintain the authority of the Board, and avoid giving countenance to a seditious and rebellious humour, which might have produced the subversion of government, and the most fatal consequences to the Company's affairs, before your decision could arrive.

23. This incident occurring four days only before the dispatch of the ships, you will not expect that our letter from the public department should enter so minutely into the transactions of the Board as we proposed. The business is now suddenly taken up by Mr. Campbell, our Secretary, who we are assured will exert his utmost abilities; but he requests you will please to make an allowance for the shortness of time, and his total unacquaintance with all that has been transacted in that department.

24. We have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that Sujah al Dowlah appears well disposed to cultivate our friendship, and adhere strictly to the conditions of the late treaty.

Colonel Smith's brigade is now stationed at Illahabad and Benâres, to secure the King and Vizier against the invasions of the Maharattas, until they have fully re-established themselves, and payment of the stipulated indemnification to the Company is completed. His Majesty's visionary projects of seating himself with our assistance on the throne of his ancestors, and proceeding to Dehly his capital, seem to have vanished before the Committe's remonstrances. We hope he is at length convinced, that without us the scheme is impracticable, and we are certain it can never be your interest to extend the influence of your arms to so great a distance from your present possessions, and the seat of your government.

25. Opening a communication between the Northern Sircar and Bengal must prove mutually advantageous to your presidency at Fort Saint George, and to us. We have therefore determined to embrace the favourable opportunity which the present feeble condition of the Maharattas affords, to carry this measure into execution, and have for that purpose set on foot a negociation with their chief, whereby we propose he shall cede to us the northern parts of Orissa, now in his possession, upon our consenting to pay a certain stipulated annual revenue: whatever his determination may be, it is our resolution not to attempt gaining this advantage by violence or force of arms.

Peace is at length happily restored to these provinces, and it will be the study of this Committee to preserve and prolong those advantages which you already begin to experience.

We have the Honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Sumner conceiving that the following paragraph of the 21ſt Article is particularly pointed againſt himſelf, begs leave to enter his diſſent to that and ſuch other parts of the letter and proceedings as he hath already objected to: "Heartily do we wiſh "that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the ſame ſentiments, ſince "diſſents ſerve only to break the force of reſolutions, to weaken authority, and give "vigour and courage to faction and diſobedience."

W. B. SUMNER.

No. III.

To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 24, 1766.

A few incidents only which merit your attention have occurred at this Preſidency, ſince our laſt advices, of the 31ſt of January, by the Grenville and Kent.

The extraordinary behaviour of your junior ſervants was then explained to you, as a point in which your intereſt is deeply concerned: they were at that time turbulent and factious; but we have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the conduct of the more inconſiderate ſeems now to be diſapproved by thoſe arrived at greater diſcretion, who begin to ſee the neceſſity of our determined reſolution to reduce your ſervants in general within the ſphere pointed out by their years, ſtanding, and abilities. We muſt however obſerve, that your ſervice here has always been carried on rather from a dread of puniſhment than a ſenſe of duty; and that at preſent no branch of your affairs is conducted with that alacrity and zeal neceſſary and eſſential to your intereſt, to which, we ſhould conceive, all your ſervants would be naturally excited, by the uncommon advantages they enjoy.

This decline of public ſpirit we muſt, in great meaſure, aſcribe to a practice which hath prevailed at this ſettlement more than at any other, of intruſting ſome of the moſt weighty employments in your ſervice to gentlemen ſcarce arrived at years of maturity. The buſineſs of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years ſtanding in your ſervice; the employment of Accomptant is now diſcharged by a Writer ſtill lower in the liſt of your ſervants; the important truſts of Military Storekeeper, Naval Storekeeper, and Storekeeper of the Works, were beſtowed, when laſt vacant, upon Writers; and a Writer held the poſt of Paymaſter to the Army, at a period when near * 20 lacks of rupees had been depoſited for months together in his hands.

We will not enquire how far theſe employments have been duly diſcharged: youth cannot argue diſhoneſty; but it certainly doth in general imply the want of ſufficient diſcretion and experience. We will only obſerve, that repoſing truſts of ſo important and lucrative a nature in the hands of young men, hath rendered them too ſoon independent, and given birth to that ſpirit of diſſipation and luxury, of which you were very juſtly informed before the appointment of this Committee. From this ſource likewiſe flowed a grievance of the utmoſt conſequence to your ſervice, which demands an immediate remedy. The younger ſervants, being incapable themſelves to diſcharge the functions of their ſeveral offices, were forced to have recourſe to

* 250,000 *l.*

their Baniâns and black Writers; and thus their employments fell into the hands of their assistants; Baniâns became principals in the several departments; the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel; and your most secret concerns were publicly known in the Bazâr. Such trusts, reposed in those Baniâns, encouraged them to advance large sums of money to their masters, which served no other purpose than to support their extravagance, and render them dependent on their servants, instead of being obedient to the Governor and Council. It would be unnecessary to set forth the consequences to a settlement circumstanced as this is, of placing too much confidence in the assistance of the natives. The frequent and imminent dangers which you have lately experienced are evident proofs, unless your more important affairs can be transacted by your own servants, there never will be that dispatch and secrecy upon emergencies, which are necessary to insure success.

For this reason, we have resumed to the senior servants some of those employments which we think require the knowledge and steadiness of more advanced years; and also appointed a Committee to investigate the management and inspect the conduct of the several offices, civil and military, with express authority to establish such regulations as may appear the most conducive to the public service. By these means, we hope to see the principal branches of the Company's business wholly transacted by your own servants, without the aid of men, who ought, as much as possible, to be excluded from all knowledge of your private concerns.

In the letter, which we had the honour to address to you by the Admiral Stevens, we took notice, that too strict a regard to promoting seniority will ever prove injurious to the service, notwithstanding the rule is convenient and equitable, under certain exceptions and limitations. An instance, in confirmation of our opinion, now occurs. Upon examining your list of covenanted servants, it now appears, that not more than four gentlemen above the station of Writers, and below the rank of Council, have resided in Calcutta for several months, we may say years past, to carry on the business of the Presidency; the rest have gone to Subordinates; for the right of succeeding as first, second, or third in Council, to vacancies at the out-settlements, hath ever been considered as vested in seniority, whilst the business of the Presidency was neglected, and nothing remained with the Governor and Council whereby to reward and encourage merit, without appearing to trespass upon justice.

It will therefore be necessary to recall some of the senior servants below the rank of Council, to fill those offices which are at present held by their juniors, in order that your affairs may proceed in a more regular train, and the younger servants be rendered more tractable and obedient, by confining them longer to a state of greater dependence. Indeed, we could wish, that some methods of taming the spirit, without ruining the fortunes of the more incorrigible, were thought of. Perhaps the most effectual would be the depriving them of the advantages arising from salt and Dustucks for two years longer, after the term of their Writers covenants is expired. This, and confining them to the Presidency, would operate powerfully; but we chuse, if possible, to avoid proceeding to extremities.

You are already advised, that your orders, respecting the reduction of Batta allowed to the army, took place on the first day of the present year. This measure hath produced some murmurings and complaints among the subalterns, and even a memorial to the Council, from the officers of the first brigade. Conscious, however, of the necessity of reducing your military expences, we are determined to see the orders strictly obeyed. At the same time, we must confess, that until the charges incurred on account of servants, horses, and the necessary equipage of the field in this climate are diminished, by some public regulations, the allowance of a subaltern will scarcely maintain him in the station of a gentleman.

Not-

Notwithstanding our late expectations, that the King had, in consequence of our remonstrances, broke off his negociations with the Maharattas, and dropped his airy scheme of proceeding to his capital, we find by Colonel Smith's letters, that he is still intriguing with those free-booters, and stipulating for their assistance by the grant of territories in the very heart of his empire. This we consider as a project of such dangerous tendency to the tranquility of Sujah al Dowlah's country, and even of these provinces, that we have dispatched the most peremptory orders to Colonel Smith, to avoid giving his Majesty the least encouragement of assistance from the Company, without which, we apprehend, he will scarce venture to proceed; and likewise to throw every obstacle he can in the way of his proposed treaty with the Maharattas.

The President and General Carnac proposing to visit the army, and the several districts of the Bengal and Bahar provinces, with a view to enforce the regulations in the army and revenues made by this Committee, we have recommended to his Lordship to form an alliance with the frontier powers, for the security and protection of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions. The Jauts and Rohilla chiefs appear well disposed to cultivate our friendship; and their own safety naturally leads them to oppose every encroachment of the Maharattas, whence we hope to maintain our engagements with the Vizier, without incurring the risk and expence of stationing a brigade in his country.

We have also recommended to his Lordship the expendiency of establishing a gold currency, in order to obviate the bad consequences of impoverishing the country by the large annual exports of treasure to China. This expedient, you are already informed, we only consider as a palliative; but, as it will most undoubtedly, for the present, increase the current specie, and give encouragement to the importation of gold bullion, without producing a single inconvenience which we can foresee, we have adopted it without scruple, until some more effectual remedy be devised. For further reasons, and also the means proposed for carrying this measure into execution, we beg leave to refer to our procedings.

The same proceedings will also point out the several objects of his Lordship's progress up the country, in the course of which he will find many opportunities of ascertaining more accurately the revenues of the several Zemindaries and districts than can be done by orders from the Presidency, and likewise of urging payment of the large out-standing ballances to the public treasury.

Perceiving that very considerable frauds were daily committing on the revenues by means of forged Dustucks, we directed a general Dustuck-seal to been graved for the use of the Presidency and subordinate settlements, with an impression the most difficult to be counterfeited, and subject to such regulations as cannot well be eluded.

The application of this seal is also confined to the President and the Chiefs of out-settlements.

Sir Robert Barker, who was lately dispatched from Patna to the Betteä country, in the Bahar province, to demolish the forts, and reduce to obedience some of the turbulent Zemindars, deeply in arrear to the revenues, hath succeeded in the principal objects of his expedition, without encountering any considerable resistance. We beg leave to transmit the following extract of a letter from him, just received by the President, rather as an article of curious intelligence, than a sure prospect of advantage to the Company, dated from the camp of Rampore, March 5th, 1766.

" Betteä will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its " firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and " considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our

"own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the "Jungles); timbers as large as any I have seen; musk and elephants teeth; besides "many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of."

Should these advices meet with confirmation, you may be assured we shall endeavour to push the discovery to the utmost advantage. In the mean time Lord Clive has directed Sir Robert to send down specimens of every article he thinks may tend to the extention of your commerce, and the exports of the country.

Before we close this letter, justice to his peculiar merit requires we should recommend this officer to your particular regard and dinstinction. His prudence, moderation, and military accomplishments, as well as the general esteem of the army which he hath acquired, render him highly deserving of any favour you can bestow, and of the most confidential trusts in your service.

It is with satisfaction we also acquaint you, that Mahomed Reza Cawn continues to discharge the duties of his appointment with great assiduity. Any distinguishing mark of your favour will probably be a spur to his endeavours; but in ordering a present for him, we would beg leave to recommend, that one of a superior value may be sent to the Nabob, to prevent his regarding that useful minister with an eye of jealousy.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, HARRY VERELST.

No. IV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 8, 1766.

At the time our last advices, dated the 24 March, were dispatched, the attention of this Committee was wholly directed to the means of securing the benefits of your present immense possessions. The Company's influence in the empire we considered as sufficiently extended, provided the power of maintaining that influence could be confirmed. To conciliate the minds of the natives to our government, and diffuse the blessings of a mild administration, wherever our authority extended, as collectors of the revenues for the King, appeared to us the most effectual method of accomplishing that desireable end.

2. We had laid the foundation of this plan in the treaty concluded with Sujah al Dowlah, the conditions of which so far exceeded his expectations, in point of advantage to himself, that we are well assured the Company, in granting those terms, have sacrificed a mere shadow of power only, to the substantial benefit of security. The chearfulness with which he met the Right Honourable President, at a late congress, held in the Bahar province, the ready compliance he shewed in paying the remainder of the indemnification to the Company, stipulated by treaty, even before the time limited for payment was expired; and the engagements which he has renewed for our mutual defence and security, afford the strongest testimony of the sincerity of his gratitude and friendship.

3. It was in the prosecution of our plan, of giving permanency to your influence, that we obtained from the King a grant of the Dewanny; and with the same view we entered into an agreement with the Nabob, the consequences of which are, that the

the revenues of the three provinces being now entirely under our own direction, we no longer depend for the support of our military establishment, on the bounty of the Subah.

4. But to impart real stability to the system we had adopted, it became necessary we should look strictly into the internal conduct of this government, and exert our utmost endeavours to restore to a system of duty and integrity, a settlement deeply immersed in the most profligate dissipation and avowed corruption. For this purpose we entered upon the odious task of an enquiry into the conduct of divers members of the Council, with the result of which, and the opposition we encountered, you are already acquainted.

5. The seats vacated at the Board by this and other occurring circumstances, proved unexpectedly fortunate to our design, as it opened to us a fair opportunity of making some advances towards that selection of the members of the Council, which we before recommended to your attention, by introducing to the Board four gentlemen of unquestionable merit and reputation, who having been tutored in notions of rigid subordination and œconomy, were the most likely to co-operate in our views, with all the weight of their example and authority. We would not remind you of what the behaviour was, on that occasion, of the servants of this establishment, it being itself the strongest evidence of the expediency of the measure we pursued, and of the just sentiments which we entertained of their principles, had not the violence of their conduct extended beyond what we then foresaw, or could even imagine.

6. Whether any endeavours were exerted by the civil servants to propagate their discontent among the military officers, is what we cannot directly affirm; but from several of their intercepted letters it appears, they were much elated at seeing the army tainted with the malignity of their own infection. We had, agreeable to the advices already transmitted home, reduced the double Batta allowed to the military officers as early as the month of January, yet not a murmur or complaint transpired, further than was expressed in a moderate representation to the Board, from the captains and subalterns of each of the three brigades. All was calm and serence in camp, as if they rested satisfied with the orders issued by the Select Committe, until a proper state of their circumstances could be laid before the Court of Directors.

7. In this deceitful tranquility, the space of four months elasped, when, during the recess of the Committee, and Lord Clive's residence at Murshed-abad, the alarming advices arrived, that almost all the officers of the army had combined, under articles of the most solemn agreement, to resign their commissions by a certain day, unless their Batta was restored, and the orders of the Company were abrogated. To secure their measures, without incurring the penalties of desertion, they fixed on a period when they had no pay in advance, and it was every moment expected our frontier would be invaded by a large body of Maharatta horse; flattering themselves that the necessity for their services, at so critical a juncture, must infallibly reduce the Board to submission.

8. It was immediately recommended by Lord Clive to the Board, when he transmitted the advices, rather to put all to the risque, than suffer the authority of Council to be insulted. The saving which arose to the Company, from the reduction of Batta, was now of trifling consideration, when compared with the danger of yielding to the menaces of so unprecedented and mutinous an association. To preserve the authority of the President and Council, and crush an attempt that indicated the total subversion of government, became now the object; in which sentiments the whole Board, with one voice, concurred with his Lordship. He proceeded, accompanied by General Carnac, to Mongheer, where the first brigade lay in cantonments, and happily arrived at the instant when the whole body of Europeans was ripe for a revolt.

volt. Their officers, the lieutenant-colonel and two or three subalterns excepted, had to a man, withdrawn themselves; and the soldiers, fired with the contagious spirit of mutiny, were on the point of following the example of their superiors, when his Lordship's presence and authority awaked them to a sense of their duty, and probably saved these provinces from all the horrors of rapine, desolation, and military anarchy. The same violence of conduct prevailed among the officers of the second and third brigade stationed at Allahabad and Patna; insomuch that Colonel Smith, who was posted on the confines of Korah, remote from all assistance, and in the very face of a formidable enemy, was totally deserted by his officers in those lines he had drawn to oppose the irruption of the Maharattas.

9. For the further particulars of this extraordinary and very interesting event, we beg leave to refer you to the letter and Consultations of the public department, since the whole corresondence passed through that channel, during the recess of the Committee. Here we touched on it with a view only to impress you with more lively ideas of the present state of this settlement, and to evince more strongly the necessity of what we have before repeatedly recommended; a constant attention to the good sense, honour, and steadiness of those gentlemen whom you in future admit into Council.

10. We have a particular satisfaction in observing to you the spirited zeal and unanimity with which the Board assisted, in every measure proposed by the President, to break this dangerous combination. A just sense of the indignity offered to their own authority, as well as of danger to the community, seemed to unite them heart and hand in punishing, to the extreme extent of their power, an act of disobedience, that includes in its effects the being and fate of your invaluable possessions in Bengal. But still it remains to determine how far the delinquents are subject to the utmost rigour of the martial law, and whether such proofs can clearly be exhibited against them, as, admitting the authority of the court, will render the prisoners liable to the punishment of mutiny and desertion.

11. The present situation of your affairs requiring so numerous a military establishment, at such a distance from the fountain of justice, as not to admit of elucidation in difficult cases, before it is too late for decision; it becomes an object of the most serious attention, to bind down your officers and soldiers by the strongest ties of duty, of allegiance, and of martial discipline. Of late years it has been customary to grant commissions without exacting those covenants, whereby the party agrees to serve for a certain period of time; yet, upon the supposition that such contract actually exists, the King and Parliament have graciously been pleased to extend the benefits of the Mutiny Bill to the Honourable East-India Company. To this neglect it is owing, that any officer, or number of officers, has it in his option, without consulting the Governor and Council, to throw up your service in times of the most imminent danger, without incurring the penalty of any law, civil or military; for by refusing your pay, he is no longer subject to your authority.

12. To guard therefore, in future, against an event which may possibly terminate in a manner less fortunate to the Company, we beg leave earnestly to recommend, that no commissions may be hereafter bestowed, or officers sent out, but under restriction of the above covenants, a power of dispensing with the same, by granting permission to resign, to be vested solely in the Governor and Council. So many instances have occurred both here and upon the Coast, of an independent and incroaching spirit in the military, that we imagine further arguments will be unnecessary, to convince you of the necessity there is to support the civil authority with all the power that law admits, and necessity urges.

13. Before

13. Before this mutiny broke out, Lord Clive had for some time assisted at the Poonah, held at Murshed-abad, for stating the revenues of Bengal for the present year, 1766. We have now the pleasure to inform you, that the neat collections of the year arising from Bengal only amount to one crore, sixty one lacks, seven hundred and eight rupees * (16,100,708) which is an increase of eleven lacks, thirty one thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight rupees † (1,131,978) on the collections of the preceding year, flowing chiefly from a reduction of charges, without levying any additional tax on the Zemindars.

14. The statement of the revenues of Bahar is likewise just come to our hands; and we perceive with great satisfaction that they amount this year to sixty-one lacks, eighty thousand two hundred and seventy-six rupees ‡ (6,180,276), being an increase of neat revenue of five lacks, sixty-two thousand two hundred and sixty-one rupees § (562,261). This increase we, in a great measure, owe to the diligence and abilities of Mahomed Reza Cawn, who is now employed on the spot in regulating the collections of that province; whence we hope the revenues will be reduced to more order, and raised to a greater amount than have for some years been known, on account of the scandalous embezzlement of the public money, and misconduct of the collectors.

15. It is by means of œconomy and frugality only, that we wish to see your revenues increased; since they are always sufficiently great to answer every purpose of the Company; for without the greatest care be taken to prevent Zemindars from carrying on long balances, and defrauding the government under various pretences, your collections would soon dwindle to a sum insufficient to defray their own charges; the authority of the administration would be despised, and the several Rajahs and Zemindars would assume to themselves an independent power, after they had fleeced the people, and fattened upon the spoils of the public.

16. During Lord Clive's residence in the Bahar province, a congress was held at Chuprah; at which his lordship, General Carnac, Sujah al Dowlah, and the King's minister, assisted. Here was laid the foundation of a treaty between the Company, the Vizier, and the Jaut and Rohilla chiefs, for their mutual defence and security against all attempts of the Maharattas to invade their several dominions. But his Lordship and General Carnac, from consideration of the little advantage the Company would deduce from such distant allies in case of an invasion, chose to leave this matter unfinished, and to entrust Sujah al Dowlah with the management of such treaties as he might think convenient for his own and the Company's welfare; but he is not to conclude any thing, nor enter into any absolute agreement, without having previously acquainted the President with every proposal, and obtained his approbation.

17. At Chuprah likewise attended deputies from the Maharatta chiefs, from whom, and also from the letters they brought, it evidently appears, the Maharatta forces are assembled at the King's requisition, and upon the positive assurances he gave that an English army would join them to escort him to his capital. His Majesty has indeed laboured hard by every artifice of persuasion, intrigue, and negotiation, to succeed in his favourite scheme, which we are convinced would terminate in accomplishing his own ruin, and destroying the peace of the whole empire. In a word, his conduct has been such, that we are at a loss whether more to condemn his policy, despise his understanding, or abhor his principles.

18. With a view to watch the motion of the Maharattas upon our own frontier, Lord Clive has directed Colonel Smith's brigade to canton at Doudnagur, or Sasseram, where the Colonel will be advantageously posted to oppose any hostile intentions, and

* 2,012,588 *l.*
† 141,497 *l.*
‡ 772,534 *l.*
§ 70,282 *l.*

and to cover the Bahar province. This brigade is recalled in consequence of Sujah al Dowlah's having fully discharged all the engagements into which he entered by the treaty; and for this reason likewise we shall immediately recall the resident at Benâres, and every other European residing in the Vizier's dominions, that no disputes may arise from private commerce, to disturb the amity now subsisting.

19. We have frequently mentioned to you the inconvenience of exporting money and bullion from this country for the supply of your China investment; yet we would not take upon ourselves to with-hold this assistance, until we received your instructions. Accordingly the Council have issued orders to the mint master to purchase all the bullion that may be imported this season, for the use of the China market; to which we propose remitting to the amount of twenty-four lacks *.

20. To obviate the immediate bad effects to the commerce and revenues of this country of such an annual drain of treasure, Lord Clive carried into execution, during his stay at Murshed-abad, the regulations of the Select Committee relative to a gold coinage, which we hope soon fully to establish, notwithstanding the prejudices of these people against every innovation. Having already presented you with a general view of the above regulations, we must now request your excuse for not transmitting the particulars by this conveyance, as our secretary has not been able to get up the proceedings, on account of the death and sickness of several of the assistants in his office.

21. Already we have gone through the enquiry you direct into the several sums granted by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the purposes of restitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy. All the principal agents for those disbursements have been separately examined upon oath before the Committee, and their depositions taken viva voce, and recorded on the face of our Proceedings.

22. Sorry we are to observe, that from those depositions it will appear how little the Nabob was himself inclined to impoverish his treasury by free gifts, and voluntary donations. The present to the squadron in particular seems to have been obtained by very unjustifiable acts and measures, which we conceive will reflect very little honour upon a servant of his Majesty's acting in so high a station. But we would chuse to avoid making further remarks, since the next dispatches will afford you an opportunity of forming your own judgment of transactions so deeply interesting to the national character. It appears, however, upon the most positive testimony, that the donation to the army was a free and unsolicited present from the Nabob, bestowed on Major Adams and the army, as a pledge of their faithful services at the most critical juncture; and a ransom of the money and effects in such cities and towns as might fall into their hands, and be subject to the violence of the soldiers. It is not therefore surprising that this donation should have been voluntary, while the sum granted for restitution to the merchants, and a present to the navy, flowed with so ill a grace from his excellency, who could not possibly expect any equivalent services.

23. When we have dispatched the Lord Camden we shall proceed to enforce such of your orders as we have not already anticipated; and you may rest assured that neither prejudice nor favour to individuals shall warp us from that duty which we owe to you, our constituents, and to our own honour.

24. We are sorry to acquaint you, that on the 8th day of May, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah breathed his last, after a short illness, incurred by some intemperance in eating, and increased by a gross habit, and unsound constitution. As he was a prince of mean capacity, bred up in total ignorance of public affairs, this event, which formerly might have produced important consequences in the provinces, can at present have no other effect than that of exhibiting to the eyes of the people

* 300,000 l.

people a mere change of persons in the Nizamut. Nudjum al Dowlah dying without issue, his brother Syef al Dowlah succeeded to his dignities; and promises, from the mildness and pliancy of his disposition, to answer all the purposes of a Nabob to the people and to the Company. At present he is a youth not exceeding the age of sixteen, which more immediately and naturally brings the administration into the hands of persons in whom we can repose confidence.

25. Before this time you have probably determined the fate of the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; whether it may be continued under the regulations we have established, or is totally to be relinquished by your servants. We shall therefore only observe on this occasion, that certain amendments are now proposed by the President, and adopted by the Select Committee, which we think will remove every inconvenience observed in the present establishment of that trade, and secure to the Company the power of rewarding or punishing their servants, according to the degree of their merit or misconduct.

26. We are further to inform you, that the Committee nominated by us to inspect into the conduct of the several departments at the Presidency, have entered upon the duty of their appointment. They have in consequence framed divers regulations, which we think well calculated to promote your interest, as they are conducive to the order and dispatch of business; for which reason we propose carrying them into execution with all convenient expedition.

27. From observing the great increase in the expences of living in Calcutta, the Committee of Inspection have pushed their regulations to a reformation of the police of the settlement. From the general inattention of late years to this object, the articles of diet, wages, house-rent, &c. have risen so exorbitantly, that your allowance to junior servants is very inadequate to their necessary and unavoidable expences; and this we consider as the reason why they have hitherto been indulged with larger salaries than you approve, annexed to their several employments. In the present flourishing situation of your affairs, we should apprehend their appointments ought to afford them a decent and sufficient maintenance, enough to preserve them against every attempt to meanness and dishonesty, but too little to support them in profusion and extravagance.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. V.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Dec. 9. 1766.

1. In the Letter which we had the honour to address to you by the Lord Camden, we described every material occurrence that passed at this Presidency, from the departure of the Ponsborne, to the date of the above dispatch. We now transmit in the packet a duplicate of that Letter, and also the proceedings of the Select Committee, to which we beg leave to refer for a more particular detail of facts.

August 19, 26, 27, 29, & 30. 2. The depositions recorded on the face of our proceedings, respecting restitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy, are themselves so explicit and clear, as to render any further lights to guide your judgment almost unnecessary. The means exercised to obtain those large disbursements from the Nabob's treasury are fully declared upon oath, by the principal agents on either side. A Committee expresly appointed for examining the several claims of the sufferers, hath already passed their accounts; we should therefore apprehend, that the question now to be determined is not, whether the losses of individuals have been fairly stated, but whether the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, could justly be made accountable for losses consequent on a war, of which he was not the author; and also whether you ought to be considered as bound in honour to discharge such debts of his excellency, as he could never be willingly brought to acknowledge.

These are points which we submit to your consideration, while we content ourselves with observing, that whatever opinion we may entertain of the decrees of the Committee of Restitution, it would, at this distance of time, be impossible to enter upon a satisfactory review of their proceedings, after so many of the parties chiefly concerned, are either gone home or dead.

Such a scrutiny would, in the present circumstances, be attended with many difficulties; it would be productive of injustice, and bear hard upon the fortunes of such individuals as had adjusted their claims with a scrupulous nicety, to the amount of their losses. At all events, it would furnish a topic for clamour, and a handle for misconstruction, to have those accounts now disputed, which were passed by your Governor and Council, acting here as your representatives, after three-fourths of the whole had been actually discharged.

3. With respect to his excellency's grant of a donation to Mr. Tinker, and the squadron under his command, it rests entirely with you to determine, from the evidences set forth, whether the services performed by his Majesty's ships of war in Bengal, merit a reward so disproportionate to the then exhausted condition of the Nabob's treasury. A court of equity will ascertain the distinctions to be made betwixt a free gift flowing from a sense of obligations received, and a grant obtained by the unwarrantable methods described in the depositions of the witnesses examined on this occasion.

4. As soon as we had closed the enquiry into restitution and donations, the Committee took into consideration the several other orders issued by your Honourable Board, during the course of the last season. Your remarks on the inland trade were so peculiarly striking, and so perfectly agreeable to our own sentiments, respecting that perpetual source of oppression and complaint, that we determined immediately to apply the most efficacious remedies to a disease which must in time have subverted the constitution, and endangered the being of the East India Company. By the Admiral Stevens you were informed of the plan we had concerted for carrying on the trade in salt, tobacco, and beetle-nut, for the benefit of the Company and their servants, without injury to the Nabob, and without molestation or oppression of the natives. It was the best and most equitable system we could then devise, yet experience hath shewn the necessity of laying the trade under further restrictions, the reasons for which, together with the particular mode of conducting this valuable branch of commerce in future, are fully explained in Lord Clive's minute*, entered on our Proceedings. In those emendations of the plan on which the society of trade was founded, all due regard has been paid to the sovereign prerogative of the Company, acting as collectors for the King, and more especially to the scrupulous distribution of natural right to the native inhabitants; whence we flatter ourselves, that the inland trade will henceforward prove to you a commodious fund for rewarding the different degrees of merit amongst

* September 3, 1766.

amongst your servants, and a fruitful source of encouragement to the industry of the country people, who are now, without distinction, admitted to a participation of its benefits, upon the most reasonable and moderate terms.

5. To the regulations formed for conducting the business of the society of trade, we have added a total prohibition of another species of inland traffick, in a variety of articles, usually transported from one district of the interior country to another, whereby an extensive field was open for the abuse of power, and the most notorious acts of fraud and injustice. All Europeans in your service, or under your protection, are now indiscriminately confined to trade in certain stated articles of import and export; the returns are to be made from the places where the goods were sold, directly to the Presidency, or the subordinate factory from whence they were dispatched; and no circular traffick, by way of barter, or otherwise, is in future to be allowed from one Aurung to another, on pain of confiscation of the goods, and loss of your service and protection.

6. The complaints which we received of repeated losses sustained in the revenue, and of violence offered to the country people by the Gomastahs, or black agents, employed by your servants, and skreened from justice by their influence, afforded us an opportunity of imposing further restrictions upon the inland trade, by obliging those Gomastahs to register their licences at the head court of the district where they reside; a monthly return of which is to be made to the Ministers aud the President at the Durbar, and to be compared by them with the list of licences sent from hence by the custom-master. This, with other limitations specified in our proceedings, will, we doubt not, conduce greatly to the peace and good order of the country.

7. We have also recalled from the Aurungs, all your servants who were sent to superintend the investments in cloth, being well assured that these branches of the Company's business, may as conveniently be carried on without their assistance; and that the residence of young gentlemen at places remote from the inspection of their superiors, hath furnished the means of assuming to themselves an authority prejudicial to the people, detrimental to the revenue, and productive of disputes with the other Europeans Companies, with whom it is our inclination to live in the most amicable manner. Sept. 10.

8. Further to enforce the spirit of your instructions contained in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12, of your separate letter, under date the 24th December 1765, we deliberated on the properest measures for restraining that pernicious influence which enables a commercial Governor of this settlement in a manner to engross in his own hands the whole trade of this country. The President's minute, entered in our proceedings the 19 September, very clearly and forcibly expresses the many salutary effects that must arise to the Company and the public, from placing the Governor in so affluent and respectable a situation, that his attention shall no longer be distracted with the perplexing care of an extensive trade, nor diverted from the duty of his station by too close an application to ways and means of promoting his own private interest. He is now to renounce all concerns in every branch of commerce, by a solemn oath and penal bond for 150,000 l. executed in the presence of the Mayor's Court, the Company's servants, and the other inhabitants of the Presidency. He is restricted from every possible method of accumulating wealth, and even from the lending out money at more than the common rate of interest, or otherwise enlarging his fortune, except by the regular and stated appointments of his office. We have not only bound him down by the strongest ties of law, honour, and conscience, but we have endeavoured to remove every temptation to exceed the limits prescribed, by rendering the emoluments of his appointment suitable to the rank he holds in the settlement, the dignity he must necessarily maintain in the eyes Sept. 19.

of the natives, and the prospect of independence which he ought to enjoy at the close of a long course of faithful services.

10. For these purposes we have assigned to your Governor a commission of 1⅛ per Centum, upon all the revenues, of which the Company are collectors for the King; the consulage on coral, the duties on coinage, and such other emoluments and perquisites as the Court of Directors usually have annexed to his station and office.

As the President's own words are most expressive of the meaning of the Committee, we beg leave to quote the following paragraph of his Lordship's Minute, in which he enumerates the happy consequences that must result from divesting the President of all other cares than those of his station.

" Although by these means a governor will not be able to amass a million, or half " a million, in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome " independency, and be in that very situation which a man of nice honour and true " zeal for the service would wish to possess. Thus situated, he may defy all opposition " in Council; he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he means for " the advantage of his employers; he may defy the law, because there can be no foun- " dation for a bill of discovery; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because " there can be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short, if stability can be insured to " such a government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance in a " short space of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capa- " cities, it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted."

We are to observe, that our President, Lord Clive, has himself set the first example of that moderation which he requires in future governors of this settlement, his Lordship having, on the 1st day of October, taken the restrictive oath, and executed the penalty-bond, in the manner prescribed.

9. As we have never presumed to deviate from your express orders, excepting when circumstances were so altered as would render our obedience criminal, we entered with great reluctance upon the execution of your instructions contained in the general letter of the 24th December, 1765, and 13th February, 1766.

Mr. Hugh Watts was, pursuant to these orders, called upon to refund the amount of commission he had drawn, at the rate of 2½ per Centum, upon the revenues of Midnapore; but as this commission had first been established by a Committee of Lands, and was afterwards confirmed by your President and Council, we accepted in lieu of money, of his bond, made payable in case you should think proper to repeat your injunctions after we had represented the circumstances of the affair.

10. In the same manner we called upon Messrs. Marriott, Lawrell, Goodwin, and Graham, to refund the whole amount of the monthly allowance received from the Rajah during their residence in Burdwan; yet, in favour of these gentlemen, it must be observed, that the above allowance was constantly inserted in the monthly cash account transmitted to the Presidency, whence it became an absolute act of the Board, for which your servants are no longer responsible.

We likewise imagine that the commission drawn upon the revenues of Midnapore, as well as the allowance granted by the Burdwan Rajah, must have been known by the general books for more than twelve months before your orders for refunding were issued. These emoluments were therefore, if not absolutely confirmed, yet tacitly allowed by the Court of Directors themselves. The silence of your Honourable Board, and of the Governor and Council, upon a point so immediately striking, may very naturally be construed into a sufficient sanction for their conduct; and the alternative, either to refund sums of money actually expended in supporting the unavoidable charges of their stations, or of losing the benefit of your service, must therefore be regarded as a very particular hardship upon these gentlemen.

For

For these reasons we also accepted bonds for restitution of the Rajah's allowance, in the same terms as that from Mr. Watts; and it is our request, that you will please to revoke these orders, which must prove so injurious to the fortunes of your junior servants, acting under the immediate orders and inspection of the Board.

The bonds are as follows:

Mr. Watts - - - - - - - - - - - -	11,000	0	0
Mr. James Lawrell - - - - - - - - -	32,822	0	0
Mr. Henry Goodwin - - - - - - - - -	24,000	0	0
Mr. J. Graham - - - - - - - - - - -	7,400	0	0
Rupees	75,222	0	0

12. Mr. Marriott, intending to resign the service, has intimated, in reply to our demands, that he is ready to answer every legal claim upon his fortune in the courts of justice in England. Nov. 4. 1766.

13. Your orders for refunding the presents received by the gentlemen who composed the Council and Deputation, at the accession of the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, were duly conveyed to Messrs. Playdell and Middleton, the only remaining members of the Board who acted upon that occasion. The former has applied to the Board for permission to resign the service, and the latter has acquainted the President of his intention to return this season to England; so that enforcing your instructions any further appears unnecessary.

14. In consequence of your several remarks on the management, revenues, and accounts of Burdwan province, in the General letter, the 24th December, we directed Mr. Verelst, the Supervisor, to draw out an exact statement of the revenues, and an explicit answer to the difficulties you have pointed out in the former statements transmitted to England. That gentleman has accordingly, with great pains and attention drawn out a very full account of the receipts and disbursements of the province for the last year. He hath likewise deduced, from the best authorities he could procure, a minute detail, in the same form, of all receipts and disbursements of money, from the period when that province was first assigned over to the Company; and these accounts he has accompanied with a letter addressed to the Select Committee, which, we hope, will explain every inconsistency, account for every deficiency, and solve every material difficulty represented by your Honourable Board. Oct. 22.

15. From the Resident at Midnapore's letter to the Supervisor, and the accompanying accounts, you will perceive the great increase of the revenues of that province since Mr. Verelst's appointment; you will also observe from the resolution of the Committee when Mr. Graham's letter was under consideration, the method in which we propose conducting the business of that province and Jellasore in future, in order the Company may receive the full value of the lands, without oppressing the Zemindars or distressing the landholders, whose ease and happiness must ever be inseparable from the true interest of their masters. Oct. 14.

16. The King's revenues, of which we are now the collectors, we have reason to believe, will fall very little short of the sums specified in our letter by the Lord Camden. In the list of packet we transmit general statements, for the present year, of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, the large increase upon which must in great measure be ascribed to Mr. Sykes's assiduity, and to Mahomed Reza Cawn's profound knowledge in the finances. Without this diligence and skill in the executive officers, all the attention of the Committee to support the influence of government, to enforce obedience of the Zemindars, and to prevent frauds, embezzlements, and depredations committed on the revenue, would fail to produce the required effect.

17. The

17. The large investments, which we are now enabled to send home, by means of the supplies we remit to China, and the cargoes from hence, render the revenues of this country an object of the utmost importance, not only to the Company, but to the British nation. As these are the only means we can at present devise, whereby you can enjoy the full fruits of his Majesty's royal grant of the Dewanny, we shall continue to exert our utmost endeavours to extend the investment every year; and we propose continuing to supply the China market with money, until your prohibition to the contrary shall arrive, or advice from the Supercargoes, that they have a superfluity in their hands. Inconveniencies will undoubtedly attend this annual exportation of treasure; but when we reflect on the great addition already made to the current specie of the country by the gold coinage, and likewise that even should your sales fall, yet will every increase of your investment prove so much actual money remitted to your coffers, we are inclined to think this the most eligible system that can be pursued at present. We are further to consider, that while foreign nations are providing their investments with money borrowed at a high premium, you are only sending home in goods the surplus of an immense revenue, which may truly be regarded as so much clear gain to the Company and to the nation.

18. But this great and national object is not to be secured and perpetuated without your unremitting attention to our military establishment, and maintaining a force proportioned to the risk incurred by the extension of your influence and possessions. The dismission of the Nabob's useless military rabble, and of those troops kept up by the Rajahs and the Fouzdars, in their several districts, for the purpose of enforcing the collections, hath obliged us to raise eight battalions of independent Sepoys; so that notwithstanding the great number of recruits sent out this year from England, notwithstanding the liberal supply of troops granted by your Presidency at Fort St. George, so general was the mortality on board the transports, so great the loss from the Falmouth's misfortune, and so fatal the effects of the late unhealthy season, that we cannot avoid being alarmed at the extraordinary disproportion of numbers between your European and black infantry. The very signal instance of fidelity and attachment exhibited by the sepoys, during the late mutiny of the officers, might indeed be sufficient to quiet our apprehensions, and remove all suspicion of their conduct, if experience the preceding year, of their dangerous insolence and turbulent spirit had not evinced the necessity of keeping the black troops in awe and subjection.

19. We therefore most earnestly request that you will try, by every possible means, to complete the European infantry to the number specified in our address by the Admiral Stevens; and that effectual measures may be taken to prevent crouded ships, to dispatch your recruits at an early season, and to guard against the infamous practices of owners, husbands, and officers of ships, whereby the lives of hundreds of men are sacrificed, whose services would be valuable to the nation, and altogether invaluable to the Company.

20. In the letters from the public department, your Council have frequently expressed their wishes that you would comply with the military store-keeper's indents for hats and shoes. We now make it the request of this Committee, that the brigades may in future be fully supplied with articles so essential to a soldier's cloathing, and which are not to be procured here in a sufficient quantity at any price.

21. At the same time we beg leave, once more, to repeat the necessity of your pursuing the most vigorous steps to prevent the exportation of fire-arms and ammunition to any part of India. It is not sufficient that we guard against this illicit, and perhaps fatal trade, at your Presidencies of Fort St. George, and Fort William, unless the same care be taken at Bombay, Bencoolen, and your factories on the Malabar coast;

since

ſince the arms imported at thoſe places are ſoon conveyed by country veſſels, and other means, to the moſt remote parts of Hindoſtan.

22. The accompanying duplicate of our letter by the Lord Camden, will adviſe you of the proſpect we then enjoyed of uninterrupted peace and tranquility in Bengal. Nor is this proſpect more viſionary or remote at preſent, notwithſtanding the King has plied every engine of ſtate artifice and deceit to diſturb the repoſe of the empire, by arming for the purpoſes of his wild ambition, a power who, in a ſhort time, would ſhake the foundation of his throne, and deprive him of that independent and comfortable revenue which he now poſſeſſes for the ſupport of his dignity. Diſappointed in the King's promiſes of aſſiſtance from us, the Maharattas have ever ſince remained ſeemingly irreſolute how they ſhall act, at ſome diſtance from the frontiers of the Korah province, which was ceded to his Majeſty laſt year by treaty. They have not yet attempted to moleſt the King, our ally Sujah al Dowlah, or us; yet for the greater ſecurity we have directed the ſecond and third brigades to march towards the Caramnaſſa, to ſupport Sujah al Dowlah, if he ſhould require our aſſiſtance, and to confirm that terror of our arms with which the Maharattas ſeem already to be ſtrongly impreſſed. This motion we expect will produce the full effect, without ſtriking a blow.

23. We learn with great ſatisfaction by the lateſt advices from the coaſt, that all differences with Nizam Allee are likely to be removed. Should this deſireable event take place, we hope to concert a plan of operations with the Preſidencies of Madraſs and Bombay, which will effectually prevent our being moleſted in future by the Maharattas, by obliging them to confine their whole attention to the preſervation of what they now poſſeſs. At preſent they are the only power who can excite diſturbances in Bengal; nor have we any thing further than a mere temporary interruption to our collections to apprehend even from the Maharattas; ſince with our well-diſciplined and numerous army, we may bid defiance to the moſt powerful country army that can be brought in the field.

24. Having maturely conſidered your orders, conveyed in paragraph 39 of your general letter by the Lord Camden, we entirely agree in opinion that the government hath undoubted right to oblige the inhabitants to contribute their proportion of expences neceſſary to the ſecurity of the ſettlement. But as not only the propriety of ſuch an aſſeſſment, but even our power of levying taxes hath been queſtioned, and this propoſal already rejected in the conſultation of the Board in the year 1762, we chuſe to avoid renewing it at a juncture when the affluence of the Company renders it leſs neceſſary, and when ſuch an exertion of authority might poſſibly revive diſcontent, and re-kindle thoſe ſparks of ſedition, which have been too recently ſuppreſſed to admit of a certainty that they are thoroughly extinguiſhed. However, leſt it ſhould hereafter be thought expedient to aſſeſs the inhabitants for the purpoſe mentioned, or for any other meaſure of government, we could wiſh to recommend that you would pleaſe to conſult the learned in the law, how far the authority of your Governor and Council, acting here as your repreſentatives, extends over the property of the inhabitants living under their protection.

25. You will obſerve from our proceedings, that Mr. Rumbold's appointment to a ſeat at the Board, with the ſtanding he held at your Preſidency of Fort St. George, was conſidered by Meſſrs. Alderſey, Kelſall, and Floyer, as an injury to themſelves, and a ſuperceſſion, which their conduct at the Board no way juſtified. At the ſame time we confeſs the merit of theſe gentlemen, we muſt obſerve, that the injury would have been ſtill greater to Mr. Rumbold, had he been denied that rank in Council, to which he was intitled by faithful ſervices. Our objection was not to him, but to a ſelection from this eſtabliſhment, (Sep. 10, 15, and 19.)

which

which we conceived would serve only to aggravate the general discontent; and we therefore gave him assurances at the time, that his supercession would be temporary.

With the Committee's declaration that such assurances had been given, we are of opinion the Madrass gentlemen might have remained satisfied, until the sentiments of the Court of Directors could be received; since it is evident we were reduced by necessity only to this measure, without intention of injuring, or in any degree superseding Mr. Rumbold, whose services to the Company, both in a civil and military capacity, deservedly entitle him to an exemption from every indignity.

26. The public department will advise you of Mr. Sumner's resignation, and of his having taken his passage in this ship; we shall not proceed to fill up the vacancy his departure has occasioned in the Committee, until his Lordship is able to attend the business.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. VI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. At the time we were honoured with your commands by the Mercury packet, Lord Clive's severe indisposition obliged us to defer making any particular reply; we therefore contented ourselves with general expressions of thanks for the approbation you are pleased to bestow on our conduct, and the confidence you repose in the zeal and attachment of the Select Committee.

2. Having since his Lordship's recovery more maturely considered your letter, we beg leave to repeat our acknowledgments with the liveliest sense of duty and gratitude; and to assure you, that finding ourselves more completely armed with the sanction of your authority, we shall proceed with boldness and vigour upon the same principles that have hitherto guided our steps, and produced those events which you do us the honour to consider as important and fortunate to the Company.

3. When first we embraced the political system now established, it was with diffidence; when we entered upon the correction of abuses, and the punishment of misconduct, it was with reluctance: but sensible that the one and the other were essentially necessary to the stability of government, and even to your existence in this country, we pursued our measures with that disinterested zeal which we hoped would merit your applause; and we now receive in your approbation, the most acceptable reward of our labours.

4. It is with extreme satisfaction we perceive, that you agree with us in opinion, respecting the expediency of the royal grant of the Dewanny. The necessity and utility of this grant become every day more evident. All cause of contention with the government is now removed; security to the property, freedom to the trade, and protection to the persons of the native inhabitants are insured. Funds for the provision of your investments, for the maintenance of your troops, and for the necessities of war, are established. Influence to command respect is acquired; and we may, in our present circumstances, be regarded as the spring which, concealed under the shadow

dow of the Nabob's name, secretly gives motion to this vast machine of government, without offering violence to the original constitution. The increase of our own, and diminution of his power, are effected without encroachment on his prerogative. The Nabob holds in his hands, as he always did, the whole civil administration, the distribution of justice, the dispofal of offices, and all those sovereign rights which constitute the essence of his dignity, and form the most convenient barrier between us and the jealousy of the other European settlements.

5. As to the functions of this office of Dewanny, they have, since we came into possession, been exercised as you direct by the resident at the Durbar who acts as collector of the King's revenue, under the inspection and controul of the Select Committee. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn, he superintends the whole collections, receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars, disburses the stated revenues appropriated to the King and the Nabob, enquires into the causes of deficiencies, redresses injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure, and the monthly account of the treasury, with every other occurrence of importance to the President and Select Committee.

6. The collections of the province of Bahar we have thought proper to place under the immediate direction of the Chief at Patna, who acts jointly with Shetabroy, and subordinate to the resident at the Durbar, to whom he makes his consignments of treasure, and transmits monthly accounts of his office, which the resident forwards to us. The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office; but as we are afraid of distracting his attention, by presenting too great a variety of different objects to his mind, we must at present leave the particular mode of carrying on business to the resident's own discretion. His correspondence, however, with the natives, and copies of all letters he may send or receive in his public station, we shall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and triplicates to be transmitted in our general packet.

7. For the greater precision in the management of your affairs, we have considered the whole business of the Dewanny as purely political; it is therefore kept separate and apart from that of your former possessions, the direction of which will, in future, be left to the Governor and Council, in the manner explained in the next paragraph.

8. To avoid confusion and delay in transacting the multiplicity of affairs, now dependent on this Presidency, we have drawn a line, whereby their distinct and respective provinces are marked out and assigned to the Council and Select Committee. To the former we have allotted the disbursement of money, ordering, preparing, and directing your investments, managing your Calcutta lands, and Pergunnahs, collecting your revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, together with the current business of the Presidency, subordinate Factories, and Aurungs, with whatever may any way relate to the trade and navigation of India. These were the proper objects of the attention of your President and Council, before the Company's influence and power became so enlarged, before the armies they maintained, the alliances they formed, and the revenues they possessed, procured them a consideration as a sovereign and politic, as well as a commercial body. Dec. 21.

9. To the Select Committee is reserved the power of making treaties, conducting negotiations, and contracting alliances; of ordering and directing every thing relative to the operations of war, the defence of the country, and to military affairs; of settling the amount of the annual revenues, and collecting them in quality of Dewan for the King; of issuing orders to the resident at the Durbar, and corresponding with the country powers; in a word, of carrying on whatever business may affect the government, Dec. 24.

 ment,

ment, or the political and military interest, of our honourable employers, with this farther reservation of the powers delegated to the Committee, of interfering upon such occasions as they may judge necessary to the good of the Company, and general welfare of the country.

10. Such are the regulations under which we propose to conduct the business of this Presidency in future, and which we hope will meet with your approbation. In marking the limits assigned to each department, we have observed all possible regard to the honour of the Board, and to the natural boundaries of what your possessions were, and what they now are; with this view especially, that if, upon any future emergency, or reverse of fortune, we should be forced to relinquish our late acquisitions, and return to our former condition, we may do it with the least injury to your affairs.

11. In the list of packet by the Cruttenden, we sent you a general estimate of revenue for the present year, to be collected in the province of Bengal and Bahar, in the manner fixed and adjusted at the last Poonahs. For your farther satisfaction, we now transmit an explicit account of the receipts and disbursements of the Dewanny treasury, from the above period; whence you will observe, that the monthly payments have been strictly kept up, and that the annual collections are likely to answer our most sanguine expectations. Should any deficiency arise upon the present statement, it must proceed from the regulations we have made for the increase of your own investment, which necessarily restrain many articles of private trade, that always paid duties to the government; and also from the impossibility of our enforcing the collections in the remote frontier provinces, where many independent Rajahs reside, with the same degree of authority exerted under the immediate eye of your resident at the Durbar.

12. Sensible of the importance of these revenues to the Company, and convinced by experience that it requires the most unremitting diligence to prevent the natives from eluding payment of the stated collections, your Select Committee will ever be attentive to support, with all their influence, the authority of the resident at the Durbar, and to see their orders for restraining the pernicious interposition of your servants in the affairs of government rigorously enforced. As early as the month of November, 1765, we strictly prohibited all your servants, civil and military, from lending money to the Zemindars, without first obtaining the consent and approbation of the Ministers. Dec. 31. But observing this order might be evaded, under various pretences, we have now, agreeable to your directions, enjoined, on pain of immediate dismission from your service, that no person whatever, living under protection of the Company, shall lend money at a higher rate of interest than 12 per Cent. per annum, except on Respondentia only. As the success of the Durbar resident's endeavours to complete the annual collections depends in a great measure upon the punctual observance of this highly necessary regulation, you may rest assured, that nothing in our power shall be wanting to exact implicit obedience; and that we shall, without regard to persons, punish the offenders with the utmost severity.

13. When first we received from his Majesty the grant of the Dewanny, and entered upon the collection of the Royal revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Mahomed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inspection of the resident at the Durbar. We could not conveniently, before we received your approbation of the steps we had taken, assign stated salaries to the ministers, and we were therefore obliged to connive at their receiving, for the maintenance and support of their dignity, certain emoluments and perquisites which have always, by the custom of the country, been annexed to their station and offices.

14. Mahomed Reza Cawn has now of himself, with great delicacy of honour, represented to us the evil consequences that must ensue from the continuance of this practice; since, by suffering the principal officers of the government to depend, for the

the support of their dignity, on the precarious fund of perquisites, we in a manner oblige them to pursue oppressive and corrupt measures, equally injurious to the country and to the Company. We are likewise of opinion, that it is more becoming the dignity of your government, more consistent with your true interest, and more conformable to the plan we have adopted of conciliating to us the minds of the natives, that a stop should, in future, be put to the necessity of those exactions, which, though customary, must nevertheless be grievous to the people; and we have therefore, upon due consideration of the necessary expences consequent on their rank, station, and offices, assigned twelve lacks of * rupees a year for the maintenance and support of Mahommed Reza Cawn, Roy Dullub, and Shetabroy, who hold in their hands the most important employments of the government. Dec. 31.

15. In establishing this fund for the maintenance of the principal officers of state, we have had a particular regard to the amount of their perquisites, which will henceforward be annexed to the revenues, to their elevated stations, and to the expediency of supporting them in all the shew and parade requisite to keep up the authority and influence of their respective offices. As they are all men of weight and consideration in the country, who held places of great trust and profit under the former government, we farther proposed, by this act of generosity, to engage their cordial services, and confirm them steady in our interest, since they cannot hope, from the most successful ambition, to rise to greater advantages by any change or revolution of affairs. At the same time it was reasonable we should not lose sight of Mahomed Reza Cawn's past services; he has pursued the Company's interest with steadiness and diligence; his abilities qualify him to perform the most important services. The unavoidable charges of his particular situation are great; in dignity he stands second to the Nabob only; and as he engages to increase the revenues, without injustice or oppression, to more than the amount of his salary, and to relinquish those advantages to the amount of eight lacks of † rupees per annum, which he heretofore enjoyed, we thought it proper, in the distribution of salaries, to consider Mahomed Reza Cawn in a light superior to the other Ministers. This we have recommended to the President, who will adjust, with their approbation, the several proportions to be drawn from the above appointment. We have only to observe farther upon this subject, that great and enormous as the sum must appear which we have allotted for the support of the ministers of the government, we will not hesitate to pronounce that it is necessary and reasonable, and will appear so on consideration of the power which men employed on those important services have either to obstruct or promote the public good, unless their integrity be confirmed by the ties of gratitude and interest.

16. Previous to the arrangement made of public business, whereby all your former possessions are delivered over in charge to the Governor and Council, we had under consideration the letting the Calcutta lands to new tenants, upon fresh leases. Such was the resolution of the Committee, on the 2d of December, 1765, to which purpose, advertisements were then published. A list of farmers were selected from the great number of candidates who offered themselves, in framing which we had a particular regard to the character and services of those persons admitted to the benefit of lands. Nov. 4.

17. If you will please to refer to the President's Minutes at the time we granted the former leases, you will find that his Lordship then entertained suspicions of fraud in the management of the Pergunnahs. In consequence, we had set on foot an inquiry, the effects of which appeared, as we were on the point of closing our agreement with the new farmers; and this determined us to postpone the Dec. 2. 1765.

 intended

* 150,000 *l.*

† 100,000 *l.*

intended grants until the 11th day of April next, that our researches into this dark affair might not be obstructed by the collusion and artifice of the new tenants. The fresh leases will then be made out by the President and Council, we doubt not with a very considerable increase of rent, arising from an equal assessment, according to the real value of the lands; for we would avoid every act of violence and oppression, as well as of favour and partiality, to individuals.

18. Immediately upon receipt of your orders for commencing suits against your servants who had received presents at the accession of the late Nabob, we formally demanded, by a letter from our Secretary, full restitution of Messrs. Playdell and Middleton, now in Bengal, and of the attorneys of those gentlemen who are returned to England. Mr. Playdell's answer we have not yet received; Mr. Middleton's is annexed to our proceedings, and we beg leave to recommend it to your consideration, as we are well assured that gentleman was entirely ignorant of your orders for signing covenants at the time he accepted the presents. The reputation of strict honour and integrity which Mr. Middleton always maintained in your service, obliges us to wish that you would please to distinguish him from those other servants who have incurred your displeasure, by dropping a prosecution that must be attended with ruin to his fortune and family. For these reasons, and as he has agreed to give us security that he will answer to you, or us, every legal demand upon his fortune, we have thought proper to avoid filing the bill of discovery, &c. which you direct.

Jan. 16.

19. Agreeable to your orders, and to the directions contained in the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney and Sollicitor General, we are preparing to file bills against the other gentlemen, upon the refusal of their attorneys to answer our demand without authority from their constituents. Upon inquiry, we find that none of their effects are in possession of the Company; and we apprehend that scruples will arise in the Mayor's Court as to the power of attaching such effects as may be deposited in the hands of their agents, or of the natives. We shall, however, literally follow your instructions as far as circumstances will admit, and we can act consistently with your security, in a place where the profession of the law is exercised by men who seem to derive all their knowledge by inheritance, or to possess it from intuition, without previous study or application.

20. We come now to speak to your instructions relative to the inland trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal. Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the society for conducting this branch of traffick stands absolutely abolished on the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year being formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders.

Jan. 16.

21. But although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade to which you express so strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our sentiments upon a subject in which we think your immediate interest, the good of the service, and the public welfare, are deeply concerned. The Honourable Court of Directors, and indeed the whole body of Proprietors, found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and military servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, in order that you may enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an increase of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your servants of the usual benefit arising from private trade. Farther, that the revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from lending money at a higher rate than 12 per Cent. per

annum;

annum; and a trade by sea, in the manufactures of the country, being the only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that likewise is choaked up by those shoals of free merchants annually imported, who being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than your servants.

22. Taking all these circumstances into consideration; reflecting also upon the great increase of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges, we adopted, in consequence of your permission, the plan of a regulated and restricted inland trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of carrying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason complained.

23. Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will explain to you the regulations of the original plan of the society, which took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly, since we are rather the agents for manufacturing the salt, than the proprietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and to the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it ever could be procured when under the management of the government, before we were admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the different parts of the country, under such limitations that it must reach the hands of the consumer at a stated and moderate price. Hereby the people sensibly feel the justice and lenity of your government; and your servants, who have attained the highest stations, after a course of many years spent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their services, and enjoy the means of securing that independence to which they have so equitable a claim.

24. We are now directed totally to renounce all share and benefit arising from this trade; it must be made over to the natives. The government must of course come into possession; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to the ministers, officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite of our utmost influence and endeavours. These are at present our suspicions; time alone can verify our conjectures. You, no doubt, will maturely consider how far it is probable men will continue honest against all the seductions of private interest; and whether it may not be necessary to strengthen the ties of that duty expected from your servants, by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy during the time of their servitude, and the independency they ought to secure before the close of their labours.

25. By the Admiral Stevens we earnestly recommended that the Select Committee might be continued. You are pleased to approve our sentiments, which experience has rather confirmed than altered. You have entrusted Lord Clive with the powers of abolishing it entirely, or of continuing it under such regulations as he shall think most conducive to your service. His Lordship, who joins with us in opinion that this government, upon its present establishment, cannot properly be conducted except by a Select Committee, composed of your servants, of the greatest zeal, integrity, and abilities, has delivered in, as the last act of his administration, a proposal for continuing the Committee after his departure, in the manner expressed in his letter, entered in our proceedings. The gentlemen proposed to fill up the vacancies, are such as we could not but approve; and the plan laid down by his Lordship, for the Jan. 16.

guidance

guidance and direction of the Committee, so clearly chalks out the path which we ought to pursue, and the only path which can lead to your honour and interests, that if we deviate from it, it must proceed not from ignorance, but inclination; and we become in all respects accountable for the consequence of such deviation.

26. It is with the deepest concern we must observe to you, that, after due consideration of the present state of your service in Bengal, and of the unfitness of some, and the youth of others, who stand next in succession to Council, we thought it essentially necessary to stop the course of promotion, and to pass an act of this Board, that no vacancies which might happen in Council, should be filled up, until your further pleasure could be known. The importance of this station being now greatly raised, by the increase of your revenues and influence, it is of the last consequence that the management of such weighty concerns should only pass through the hands of men of the greatest experience and abilities you can select.

Jan. 16.

27. The President and Council, we are sorry to remark, have incurred your censure, for purchasing the Admiral Stevens, at our recommendation. We considered her advices were of too much importance to the Company to be retarded, on account of a trifling difference of expence. Your acquisitions, of which you had then the first notice, could only be secured by an early reinforcement of troops. To alter the destination of your China ship, would have proved injurious to your valuable investment, as she carried a large supply of treasure. The Kent we knew to be a bad sailer; and the expedient we fell upon appeared to be the only resource. We are further to observe, that in the survey made of the Admiral Stevens we were deceived, as she afterwards proved to be in a worse condition than was reported by the master-attendant and officers.

28. The Persian translator having for some time past been too much indisposed to attend to business, we are under the necessity to postpone, till the dispatch of the latter ships, the complete set of country correspondence which we proposed transmitting by the Britannia.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Fort William, Jan. 24, 1767.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, J. CARNAC, F. SYKES.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have just received from the Council at Canton, a narrative of the loss of the Earl Temple, in the China seas. This account was taken from the declaration of three of the crew, who arrived at Canton, one of whom the Supercargoes have sent to Bengal, to assist in navigating a vessel we propose sending, in hopes to save the lives of several of our countrymen, who are now confined, in a wretched condition, to the small boundaries of a desolate island. We transmit the narrative a number in the packet.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, JOHN CARNAC, F. SYKES.

No. VII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, February 19, 1767.

1. After accomplishing your earnest wishes for the restoration of peace and tranquility in Bengal, your late President, Lord Clive, embarked for England in the Britannia, leaving the government in charge to Mr. Verelst.

2. A duplicate of our dispatches upon that occasion, containing a recital of the most considerable occurrences since the departure of the Cruttenden, we have the honour to transmit a number in the packet; together with the proceedings of that date of the Select Committee.

3. We should be wanting in the just praises of superior merit, and in gratitude for the essential services performed by Lord Clive, if we failed to acknowledge that, to the prudence and vigour of his administration you are chiefly to ascribe the present flourishing condition of your affairs. Firm and indefatigable in his pursuits, he joined to the weight of personal character, a zeal for your service, and a knowledge of your interests, which could not but ensure success.

4. It would be unnecessary to remind you of the deplorable situation in which his Lordship and the Committee found this settlement. We beheld a Presidency divided, headstrong and licentious; a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit. We may add, that amidst a general stagnation of useful industry, and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted Prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty, and oppression.

5. Such was the condition of this Presidency and of these provinces, at the time his Lordship and the Committee entered upon the arduous task of reformation. Your present situation need not be described. The liberal supplies to China, the state of your treasury, of your investment, of the service, and of the whole country, declare it to be the strongest contrast to what it was, and the most pleasing assemblage of fortunate circumstances, and of prosperous events, that has occurred at any period.

6. As the measures pursued are so fortunate as to meet with your approbation, and as they precisely correspond with our own sentiments, you may be assured of our constant endeavours to preserve your affairs in the same channel through which they have flowed with such variety of success: we therefore beg leave to repeat to you, what we have already declared to Lord Clive, that no motive, no consideration, shall ever induce us to depart from that system of politics, which he has recommended to us by precept and example, unless some very extraordinary event and unforeseen change should occur in the posture of your affairs.

7. A few days after his Lordship's departure, the Select Committee assembled in pursuance of your orders, and of the resolution taken the 16th ultimo, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the resignation of Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and General Carnac. Sensible of the good effects which must result from our unanimity, it is with pleasure we observe, that all the members appearing to be actuated by the same principles, we have before us the chearful prospect of proceeding with harmony and mutual confidence.

8. It

8. It was with much regret we entered upon the exercife of thofe powers which you have been pleafed to confer on the Committee, by an act of neceffary feverity towards lieutenant Butler, whom we difmiffed the fervice for infolent behaviour, and obftinate difobedience to the orders of the acting Chief at Coffimbazar.

9. With the fame view of afferting the authority of your Council, and extirpating every feed of fedition from the army, the Committee came to a refolution of difmiffing Mr. Rider, one of your covenanted fervants, and all thofe officers who had fubfcribed to an addrefs prefented to Sir Robert Fletcher, after that gentleman had been cafhiered by a court martial of field officers, and their fentence ratified by the whole Board. So avowed a fpirit of oppofition to the fentiments of their fuperiors, expreffed fo immediately after a general and dangerous combination, demanded the moft rigorous punifhment.

10. We are happy in the opportunity of remarking the favourable change which fo evidently appears in the conduct and difpofition of your civil fervants, who feem to have profited by your wholefome and feafonable correction. At the fame time that it may be neceffary to hold in your hand the rod of chaftifement, we cannot but offer it as our opinion, that very falutary effects may alfo be expected from the occafional exercife of your lenity and indulgence. When you have duly confidered the many reftrictions now impofed on your junior fervants, when you reflect upon the exorbitant price to which almoft every article of living is rifen, we hope it will appear to you, as it evidently does to us, that their allowance is no way proportioned to the unavoidable expences of the moft rigid œconomy.

11. They are now deprived the benefit of all trade; they are reftrained from receiving the falaries annexed to double employments, which were advantages that ought to be appropriated in reward for diligence and ability. The greateft number is indeed reduced to your bare monthly allowance, which, it muft be owned, is too fcanty a fund to fecure them againft the neceffity of incurring debts that have a bad influence upon their morals, by entangling them in difficulties, from which every means will naturally be tried to extricate themfelves.

12. For thefe reafons we exhort you, that a competent fubfiftence may be eftablifhed for your junior fervants, and more efpecially the writers, who have no claim to Duftucks; that amidft the prefent opulence of the Company, their fervants may not be fuffered to live, for fome years at leaft, in penury and want. As to the freedom of this reprefentation of facts, we are affured it will meet with your excufe, fince it proceeds from our duty, which obliges us to conceal nothing that fo immediately affects your fervice and your intereft.

13. The ftate of the army is likewife an object worthy of your confideration. In times of profound peace, when the troops lofe the advantages they enjoyed in the field, and are reduced in cantonments to half Batta, and in garrifon to their mere pay; it is fcarce poffible that fubaltern officers can fubfift and maintain the appearance which they ought, of gentlemen. We fhall try every poffible means to reduce their expences, and to lower the wages and number of fervants; but abufes have prevailed fo long, and eftablifhed themfelves fo firmly, that to remove them will require time and rigour. Colonel Smith has already made great progrefs in the reformation of your military eftablifhment; and we are perfuaded that the fame activity which has been exerted in reducing the army to order and obedience, will be continued to influence the officers to prudence and œconomy.

14. In confequence of fome very juft and pathetic remonftrances, offered to the Governor, we have agreed to make a farther provifion than is allowed by charterparty for thofe officers who are difmiffed, as well as for thofe who, having refigned your fervice, are thought unworthy of being reftored, and are therefore ordered home by

by the Board. The circumſtances of many of thoſe unhappy perſons cannot but excite compaſſion. Without money, without cloathing, and without friends, they are, for the preſervation of order and police in the ſettlement, ordered on board ſhip, where they can only be received on the footing of the meaneſt ſeamen or ſoldiers, after coming abroad and ſupporting in the ſervice the character of officers and of gentlemen. We have acted as we think becomes the dignity of your ſituation, and as humanity dictates. An allowance of 30 l. for each paſſenger is made to the captain, that being the ſum which you direct to be paid on account of officers who come abroad; and we are to obſerve, that whether you ſhould chuſe or not to continue the allowance, it could not be avoided on this particular occaſion, without incurring the cenſure of barbarity, or ſuffering the Preſidency to be over-run with idle and diſcontented people.

15. In the ſhort ſpace of time which intervenes ſince our laſt diſpatches, no change has occurred in the politics of this country, excepting that the army of Abdalla ſtill continues advancing towards Dehly. We ſhall take into our moſt mature conſideration, what conſequences may reſult from the arrival of this northern invader at the capital, reſpecting the peace and tranquility of our allies, or of theſe provinces. Sujah al Dowlah continues in the ſame diſpoſition; and the Maharattas diſcover no intentions of diſturbing our repoſe. The third brigade, however, ſtill remains ſtationed in Sujah al Dowlah's country; for which reaſon we thought proper to decline his requeſt to Sir Robert Barker, that we would intirely evacuate Chunargur; ſince we conſider that fortreſs as a neceſſary pledge of his fidelity, and a proper ſecurity to our troops while they are acting at his own requiſition in defence of his dominions.

16. We now beg leave to tranſmit the complete ſet of country correſpondence from the 1ſt of January 1766, to the cloſe of the year, which from a variety of accidents could not be ſooner prepared. The Preſident has laid before us his country correſpondence, from the time he entered upon the government, the broken ſett of which we ſhall forward by the Nottingham; and as thoſe letters are conſidered as the moſt authentic records of the true ſtate of the country, we ſhall take all poſſible care to have them regularly ſent home for your information.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD SMITH, CLAUD RUSSEL, A. CAMPBELL.

No. VIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, April 10, 1767.

1. By the Nottingham we had the honour of tranſmitting to you the proceedings of this Committee to the 10th of March, a duplicate of our addreſs by the Duke of Albany the 19th February, and the Preſident's country correſpondence to the date of the diſpatch.

2. The report of Abdalla's intended invaſion, was the only circumſtance which occurred to engage your particular attention during the ſhort ſpace of time that intervened between the diſpatch of thoſe two ſhips. We could add nothing with certainty to the intelligence we received, and the plan of operations we adopted, both which ſtood fully expreſſed on the proceedings and correſpondence. It was, there-

fore, thought adviseable to avoid giving you the trouble to peruse sentiments that could only be founded upon conjecture.

3. At the time Lord Clive resigned the administration of your affairs, some distant rumors were heard of Abdalla's ambitious projects; and you will accordingly perceive that his Lordship has touched upon this subject, in the sketch of your situation in Bengal, which he delivered to the Committee before his departure. Circumstances would not admit he should enter upon particulars; and it would seem, indeed, as if his Lordship were of opinion the project of so distant an invasion was attended with too many difficulties to be pursued with success, or even seriously proposed.

4. In these sentiments we also joined, from a persuasion that Abdalla was too politic to embark his kingdom, his honour, and life, upon the very doubtful issue of an expedition, from which he could not expect advantages proportioned to the dangers, the fatigues he must encounter, and the expence of blood he must necessarily incur.

5. We considered that he was divided from us by an immense tract of country, almost equally impervious during the heats of summer and the rains of autumn; that this country was inhabited by a variety of different and independent Princes and nations, whose natural interests would prompt them to oppose the progress of the usurper; that he was actually engaged in war, and had met with an obstinate resistance from the Seiks, his ancient and irreconcileable foes; that the Maharattas, a power equally formidable with himself, were aspiriug at the same superiority, and would therefore incline, from views of policy as well as motives of jealousy and former enmity, to set themselves in opposition; that the Jauts and Rohillas, potent nations, who form a kind of barrier to the dominions of his Majesty and of Sujah al Dowlah, and who hold their possessions now in perfect independency, would therefore be averse to changes which could not operate to their advantage; that the English could not be equally the objects of their jealousy with Abdalla, since, in ceding his conquered country to Sujah al Dowlah, they had given so recent and unexpected a proof of their moderation; and last'y, that if, to the evident interests and prejudices of those several powers, we joined our firm and declared resolution of opposing the Shaw with forces who have acquired so high a military reputation, the usurper would either be deterred from the prosecution of his arduous attempt, or such a confederacy would be united, as might probably keep the danger remote from your possessions, and secure those of your allies.

6. These were the conceptions we formed, upon the first intelligence received that Abdalla was advancing to Dehly. The advices soon became more certain of his success against the Seiks, and progress towards the capital. We had also farther advices of his declared intentions against Sujah al Dowlah and these provinces, to which he was instigated by the intrigues of Cossim Ally Cawn. Under these circumstances it was thought expedient to concert a plan of defence, and reduce to a regular system the measures we thought necessary for checking his progress, for animating our allies, and raising the country powers to a sense of their own danger, so that the outlines of our operations should be clearly marked out before Colonel Smith repaired to the army.

7. Experience of the disposition of the natives of this country has taught, that vigorous measures will ever produce powerful effects on the minds of a cautious dilatory people, who hesitate about forming resolutions until they are compelled by necessity, or strongly influenced by the passions of fear and hope. To remain inactive spectators of an invasion which threatened to overwhelm the political system of all India, would have dispirited the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whose dependence was on our support. It would have given courage to the invaders, and it might induce the country powers, from

from motives of fear, to join his ſtandard, and to act contrary to their intereſts and inclinations in a general confederacy, which a timely declaration of our reſolutions would probably prevent, or even convert to our own purpoſes. In proof that theſe ſentiments were not merely ſpeculative, you are requeſted to conſult the letters from the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whereby it will appear how earneſt they were for a compoſition with the Shaw. It is beyond doubt, the King was ſtrongly actuated by fear to make unbecoming ſubmiſſions; and that nothing but our influence with him could prevent his ſending Menêer al Dowlah with acknowledgments, unworthy of his royal dignity, and highly impolitic, at a juncture when firmneſs and ſpirit became eſſentially neceſſary.

8. With theſe views, and with the farther intention of demonſtrating to the powers of India our religious obſervance of treaties and engagements, as well as that we were under no apprehenſions from Abdalla's boaſted ſuperiority of numbers, we determined upon the plan entered upon our proceedings. Immediate advice of this our reſolution was diſpatched to the King and Sujah al Dowlah; the Rohillas were informed of our intentions, by a letter from the Preſident; the ſame intimations were given to the Maharattas; the report was ſpread over the whole country, and probably it hath already reached Abdalla's camp, that the Engliſh are making preparations to preſerve the freedom and tranquility of the empire.

9. This conjecture is rendered the more probable, as we are juſt adviſed by Sir Robert Barker, in a letter from Allahabad, that Abdalla is returning back to Lahôre, having compromiſed, for the ſum of * 25 lacks, his demands on the Indian powers. Whether we are really to aſcribe this ſudden motion to the ideas he may have conceived of the difficulties he is likely to encounter; or whether he means again to reſume his deſigns, we cannot affirm with certainty: moſt likely it is, that he would have advanced to Dehly, and remained there during the rainy ſeaſon, inſtead of returning back ſo many days march to Lahôre, if he had not entirely relinquiſhed the thoughts of invading Hindoſtan.

10. At all events, this retreat will greatly retard his project. It will encourage the Seiks to raiſe up freſh obſtructions to his progreſs, and it will afford us ſufficient leiſure for every neceſſary preparation; ſince, for this ſeaſon at leaſt, we have nothing to apprehend. We are indeed of opinion, that all danger is in future removed from that quarter, as we learn, from good authority, that the valour, the diſcipline, and the number of our troops, have been reported to Abdalla, with ſuch exaggerations, as ſeemed then to ſtagger his reſolution; and there being no other power from whom we need conceive any great apprehenſions, we flatter ourſelves that we may venture to congratulate you on the proſpect there is of laſting tranquility in Bengal.

11. Policy, however, requires we ſhould hold ourſelves in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe every attempt to deſtroy that equality and balance of power among the Princes of the empire, in which conſiſts our greateſt ſecurity. It is of little conſequence to us who ſhall be the ſuperior; it is the gaining a ſuperiority, and the aggrandizement of any Prince or nation, which would prove dangerous to your poſſeſſions. We are ſenſible, however, this maxim is to be reſtrained within bounds; and that the Honourable Company's intereſts require we ſhould guard againſt the dangerous conſequences of extending our military operations, and enlarging our frontier beyond the circle of the Nabob's dominions. Hence we conſidered it the more neceſſary we ſhould be explicit in aſſigning the reaſons which induced us to reſolve that our troops ſhould croſs the Caramnaſſa to the ſupport of our allies. The inſtructions of this Committee to Colonel Smith, will further explain our ſentiments, and convince you of our firſt determination to act defenſively only, and to proceed no farther than

* 312,500 l.

good faith required, and the present circumstances rendered expedient. For this reason it was, that we made no proposition to the Jauts, Rohillas, or Maharattas, lest we should encumber ourselves with fruitless and troublesome engagements. The latter might probably have demanded the cession of countries, which in time would render them more formidable to us than the power of Abdalla; and it was impossible to suggest to the former any expedient, whereby our alliance should become useful to them, except that of advancing an army to their assistance, which would necessarily carry our military operations to a great distance beyond our own frontier.

12. Upon the whole, the Committee joined in opinion, that vigorous measures, altho' more confined, would sufficiently influence the several powers to declare against Abdalla; and that if they failed of the proposed effect, we ought not to proceed farther. You may, therefore, rest assured we shall steadily pursue this conduct, and never be induced by any considerations to form connections that may lead us to distant expeditions.

13. When, however, we consider the many unforeseen dangers, and sudden irruptions, to which your possessions in Bengal are perpetually exposed, our duty obliges us to request, in the most earnest manner, that you will not suffer your attention to be diverted from completing your military establishment in the manner proposed by Lord Clive. We now transmit a duplicate of the general return, which went a number in the Nottingham's packet, whence you will perceive, that owing to a variety of accidents, the regiments are now less completo in effective men than when we represented their condition by the Admiral Stevens.

14. We also beg leave to observe, that, with respect to fire-arms, we should find the troops very much distressed were they under the immediate necessity of entering upon action. The Pergunnah battalions are scarce half armed, notwithstanding we detained twenty-two chests of arms destined for your Presidency at Bombay. It therefore becomes of the most serious consequence, that the Military Storekeepers indents be fully complied with, and that we should in future receive the annual supply of musquetry required in the former letters from this Committee.

15. In order to remove the repeated complaints from the army of the deficiency of draught-bullocks, we have come to a resolution of supplying the artillery by a method which, we hope, will answer better than by contract. Colonel Smith has proposed, that the government shall engage to provide twelve hundred large draught-cattle in the Purnea province; that these shall be fed by contract; and that the contract shall be given, in the usual manner, to the lowest bidder. This proposal appearing to us well calculated to remove complaints, to obviate the evil consequences that may arise from a deficiency of draught-bullocks, and to ease the natives from many unavoidable acts of oppression, without incurring an extraordinary charge, we have accordingly recommended to the President to enter upon the necessary steps for providing the number of cattle proposed, at the expiration of our engagements with the present contractors.

16. To complete the regiments, and to put our army upon the most respectable footing, we applied to the Presidency at Madrass for a supply of four hundred Europeans rank and file, which they are requested to replace from the first of our recruits that shall arrive on the coast. They were also apprised of the plan we had formed for opposing Abdalla, with the view that the two Presidencies acting in perfect consonance, may accommodate their operations to each others necessities. The same advices were sent to Bombay.

17. You will observe in our proceedings a letter from Janajee, the chief of the Cuttack Maharattas, with whom we proposed treating for the cession of that country, in order to open an immediate communication, and connect Bengal with your pos-

possessions on the Coromandel Coast. His Vackeel is soon expected in Calcutta to negociate this business; and nothing shall be wanting on our parts to carry into execution a measure which, we think, will conduce to the mutual convenience and security of the two establishments, if it can be effected without such concessions as will prove injurious to our reputation.

18. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the business of the collections of Bengal and Bahar is drawing towards a conclusion: and that we shall very nearly complete the revenue stated in the general estimate. The particulars are not yet received; but we have the strongest assurances from Messrs. Sykes and Rumbold, and also from Mahomed Reza Cawn and Shetabroy, that the ballances will be very inconsiderable at the next Poonah.

19. You are already advised, that the Committee have recommended to the President his making an annual tour of the provinces, at the time for adjusting the collections of the ensuing year. Mr. Verelst will accordingly begin his progress before the close of this month, and as soon as the business of the Presidency will admit of his absence, leaving the government in charge with Mr. Cartier.

20. The Select Committee met the 9th, when, at the instance of Sujah al Dowlah, we countermanded the march of the second brigade, and the detachment ordered to take post at Serajapore. As the Nabob was lately very urgent and solicitous for our assistance, it is evident, from his present request, that he gives entire credit to the intelligence of Abdalla's return, and is eased of all apprehensions for this season. This proceeding we have not been able to get up, without detaining the dispatch, which we have done so long to inform you of Abdalla's resolutions.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUD RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.

SUPPLEMENT.

In reply to your enquiry regarding the farms held in Burdwan by Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, we are to observe, that in the account of sales of those lands, it appears the farms rented by those gentlemen were put up in lots considerably larger than any of the others. It has also been confidently reported to Mr. Verelst, our President, by the late Mr. Ashburner, the officers of the government, and others, who were present at the sales, that few or no bidders appeared, because it was known that Mr. Johnstone intended those farms for himself, and it was therefore apprehended their offers might incur his displeasure. We must leave you to judge, from this instance, how necessary it is become to exclude from the renting your lands all Europeans whatever, and more particularly gentlemen who acquire weight and influence from the share they have in the administration of your affairs.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUDE RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.

No. IX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 26, 1767.

1. By the Mercury packet, under date the 10th April, we ventured to offer, as our opinion, that Achmet Shaw Abdalla had relinquiſhed all thoughts of proſecuting the ambitious deſigns formed againſt us and our allies, under colour of regulating the affairs of the empire. Theſe our conjectures, we have the pleaſure to acquaint you, are now fully confirmed by the moſt authentic advices. The Shaw has not only evacuated his conqueſts in the country of the Seiks, but he has retreated towards his own frontier with ſo much precipitation as juſtifies us in ſuppoſing his reſolutions were influenced by the report of the preparations we ſet on foot to oppoſe his intended invaſion. Whatever might be the motives for ſo ſudden a change in his councils, we will not heſitate to declare it as our firm perſuaſion, that he will never again reſume a project which muſt be attended with ſo much difficulty and danger in the execution, and with ſuch dubious advantage and ſucceſs in the event.

2. When we reflect upon the number and diſcipline of our troops, the reputation which the Engliſh arms have acquired, as well as the knowledge of late years obtained of the frontier paſſes and inlets, by which theſe provinces may be guarded againſt irruptions, it cannot be doubted, whilſt you maintain your military eſtabliſhment, but we ſhall be able to defend your poſſeſſions againſt the moſt conſiderable powers of this country. Such, however, is the extent of your territorial poſſeſſions, and the amount of your revenues, that we muſt not flatter ourſelves with the hopes of retaining your acquiſitions without ſome attempts from the jealouſy of thoſe who formerly bore the greateſt ſway in the affairs of the empire.

3. In this number we would reckon the Maharattas, a reſtleſs and ambitious people, who may be tempted, by the reputed opulence of Bengal, to renew their incurſions. They have already revived their claim to the uſual tribute paid to the Subahs of theſe provinces, and the Preſident has received letters from Rige-naut Row and Janajee, demanding the arrears of the annual Chout, in a more imperative ſtyle than we imagine they will preſume to juſtify, when we come to an open explanation.

4. From the above letters, and other advices, we underſtand, that at a conference held on the banks of the Narbudda, all their differences have been adjuſted between Rige-naut Row and Janejee, Chiefs who have been long at variance. This event, if confirmed, would ſeem to preſage a fruitleſs iſſue to the negotiations we have for ſome months carried on for the ceſſion of Cuttack. It will even give colour for ſuſpicion that a plan has been concerted between the Subah of the Decan, the Maharattas, and Hyder Naick, to act with united forces againſt the Engliſh; a disjointed unnatural confederacy, which, ſhould it really exiſt, can neither be permanent in itſelf, nor formidable to your poſſeſſions in Bengal. The utmoſt we need apprehend will proceed from a temporary interruption to your collections, from the ſudden incurſions of ſmall parties; and this inconvenience we will endeavour to obviate by a proper diſtribution of your forces.

5. We have been induced, by theſe conſiderations, to co-operate with the views of your Preſidency at Fort St. George, purſuant to a plan laid down by Lord Clive, and now in part adopted by the gentlemen at Madraſs. At their requiſition we have embarked in the Hector, Earl of Elgin, Northington, and Savage, a country ſhip, three battalions

battalions of Sepoys, to enable them, by a vigorous effort, to reduce the Subah to terms of accommodation, or to eſtabliſh ſuch a ſyſtem of policy in the Deccan, as circumſtances may render neceſſary. We have alſo engaged, ſhould the ſituation of their affairs require a further ſupply, to reinforce them with a complete brigade, when the ſeaſon will admit of tranſporting troops, and a ſufficient amount of tonnage can be provided.

6. Although we are fully of opinion the Honourable Company's intereſt demands our utmoſt attention to avoid differences with the country powers, yet the preſent circumſtances of your affairs are ſuch as abſolutely to require that your influence ſhould be maintained with vigour, and all encroachments repelled with ſpirit. The harmony ſubſiſting among the Preſidencies, and the ready and mutual aſſiſtance they afford upon all occaſions of neceſſity, will not fail to impreſs the minds of the natives with juſt ſentiments of our policy and ſtrength. For this reaſon chiefly we are reſolved to enter chearfully into the meaſures adopted on the coaſt, that our enemies may ſee our dependence is not alone on the forces maintained at either of the Preſidencies, but on the armies kept up in the different parts of India, which, though ſeparated at a great diſtance, can ſo eaſily and expeditiouſly be united. Neither are we without hopes, that the unuſual ſpectacle of black troops, pouring into his country from Bengal, may ſtagger the Subah's courage, and induce him to grant thoſe conditions before, which he cannot expect after the ſword is once unſheathed.

7. The King and Sujah al Dowlah appear every day more cloſely united to us by inclination and intereſt. Senſible the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, as well as the degree of conſideration they hold in the empire, muſt depend on our friendſhip, they ſeem deſirous to govern their conduct by principles the moſt likely to cement and promote our amity. The third brigade being ſtationed with them at their requeſt, and a detachment from the ſecond brigade having croſſed the Caramnaſſa with views of ſupporting the baſis of our alliance with his Majeſty and the Nabob, they have readily conſented to defray all the extra charges incurred, agreeably to the terms of the treaty ſubſiſting; ſo that the Company are put to no extraordinary expence by the motion of the troops beyond the limits of the provinces. It is, nevertheleſs, our intention to recall all your forces, and punctually to obſerve your directions, whenever the advices we receive from Col. Smith ſhall put it beyond a doubt that the diſturbances which now prevail among the neighbouring powers will not endanger our own ſafety.

8. By letters lately received from the Colonel you will obſerve, that Juwhar Sing, Chief of the Jauts, is at the head of an army, endeavouring to recover thoſe countries of which he was laſt year diſpoſſeſſed by the Maharattas. In the progreſs of his conqueſts he has entered the Rohilla country, and advanced within a few miles of the King's dominions; nor is it yet certain how far he may have extended his views, nor what are his ultimate deſigns. We have therefore directed Colonel Smith to remain in his preſent ſtation with the brigade, until it ſhall appear what farther deſigns the Jaut may entertain, or whether the meaſures in which he is now engaged have not drawn upon him the reſentment of the Maharattas, and by inducing thoſe freebooters to return, kindled a dangerous war in our neighbourhood, the flames of which may extend to the King's, the Nabob's, and to our dominions.

9. At the repeated and preſſing inſtance of the Napaul Rajah, we determined to hazard an expedition to his country, the reaſons for which ſtand fully explained on the face of our proceedings. As ſuch military enterprizes ſeem foreign to the ſpirit of that ſyſtem of politics whereby we propoſe regulating our conduct, it was neceſſary the Committee ſhould weigh very maturely all the riſk and advantage conſequent on the undertaking. Accordingly, you will obſerve, from our inſtructions to the

the Chief of Patna, that we have used every human precaution to guard againſt the poſſibility of any diſaſter or diſappointment.

10. We need not inform you, that for many years an advantageous trade has been carried on between the Province of Bahar, and the rich country of Napaul, by which a conſiderable quantity of gold, and many other valuable commodities, were imported. The Rajah being now diſpoſſeſſed of his country, and ſhut up in his capital by the Rajah of Goercullah, the uſual channel of commerce has in conſequence been obſtructed, and theſe provinces are deprived of the benefits ariſing from a former intercourſe, at a period when the decline of trade, and ſcarcity of ſpecie, render it of the greateſt importance, that every ſpring of induſtry ſhould flow freely, and without interruption. The vicinity of Napaul to the Betteä country, of which the Subah is now in quiet poſſeſſion, will bring additional advantages to this traffick, by rendering it more eaſy and ſecure than in former times; ſo that we entertain very flattering proſpects from the iſſue of an expedition, of which we hope to ſend you an account by the laſt diſpatches of the ſeaſon.

11. It is with the greateſt pleaſure we obſerve, that your ſentiments correſpond with thoſe of your Select Committee, reſpecting the utility of the Governor's annual tour of the provinces. Agreeable to what you were adviſed by the Mercury Packet, Mr. Verelſt proceeded early in the month of May to the city, with intention to continue his journey to Patna, and even to viſit the King and Sujah al Dowla. In this, however, he was prevented by a variety of buſineſs with the miniſters, as well as by indiſpoſition, and the very uncommon heat and inclemency of the ſeaſon, which proved fatal to ſuch numbers of your civil and military ſervants.

12. Soon after his arrival at Murſhed-abad, the Poonah was held with the uſual ſolemnities, the Nabob being ſeated on the Muſnud, as Subahdar of Bengal, and the Governor placed on his right hand, as repreſentative of the Honourable Company, in quality of King's Dewan. The eſtimate then formed of revenues to be collected for the preſent year we have the honout to tranſmit in our proceedings; and we beg leave to refer to a joint letter from the Preſident and Mr. Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the ſtatement is drawn out.

13. On the collections of the laſt year, we muſt obſerve, that the ballances due are much leſs conſiderable than could reaſonably be expected, the actual receipts amounting to one crore, forty three lacks, fifteen thouſand three hundred and ten rupees*. Yet from the diligent ſcrutiny made in the courſe of our experience into the real value of the lands, an encreaſe is inſured for the preſent year, of near ſixteen lacks of rupees†, ariſing from a more equal aſſeſſment only. The new arrangement made of the ſeveral articles contained in the eſtimate, we preſume will meet with your approbation, as it points out in the cleareſt and moſt conciſe manner we can ſuggeſt, the general amount of the ſtatements for the laſt and preſent years, the actual receipts of the preceding year, the diſburſements and deficiencies of each ſeparate diſtrict, the amount at which ſome diſtricts have been over-rated, and the increaſe made of the revenues charged upon others.

14. This method of comprizing the whole eſtimate into ſo narrow a compaſs as to exhibit a general view of your revenues at a ſingle glance of the eye, we humbly apprehend will convey to you more diſtinct ideas of whatever may deſerve notice, than if we tranſmitted a monthly account of the deficiency of each perſons Kiſtbundee. Your revenues ſpring from ſuch a variety of fluctuating circumſtances, and are charged and collected by ways ſo different from each other, that explaining the particular cauſe, period, and amount of each increaſe or deficiency, would be to compoſe a hiſtory of minute events, which would employ a greater number of your ſervants than are now maintained

* 1,789,415 *l.* † 200,000 *l.*

maintained for the bufinefs of the whole eftablifhment. All perfons holding lands of the government, enter into an agreement for monthly payments to a certain amount. The agreement for each diftrict fpecifies, that the collections fhall be made at the expiration of ten, fifteen, or thirty days, according to the particular cuftoms of the refpective diftricts. This Kiftbundee, as well as the collections themfelves, is regulated by the crops, and a number of other contingent circumftances, which compofe the value of lands; and all thefe being in a ftate of continual change and alteration, we imagine a particular account of each Kiftbundee would prove a fallacious guide to your judgment refpecting future periods; however, fhould you in future infift upon it, your orders fhall be obeyed.

15. Senfible of the confufion which changing the names of the diftricts muft introduce into your accounts, as well as the frauds concealed under fuch practices, the Prefident, when he attended the Poonah, ftrongly recommended to the minifters, that one particular name fhould always be ufed to fpecify the fame diftrict. They have accordingly given the ftrongeft affurances, that the names now inferted in the eftimate, fhall, in future, remain unaltered; and we will ufe our utmoft endeavours to put a ftop to fo pernicious a cuftom.

16. As to bringing on the ballances of former years to the rents of the prefent eftimate, in the manner you propofe, we humbly conceive it would be productive of many inconveniencies. The frequent removals which the minifters find it neceffary to make among the collectors, either on account of inability or mifbehaviour, would render outftanding balances fo heavy a load on the fhoulders of the prefent collector, that none would be found to accept the office under fuch conditions. Hitherto, the practice has been to keep apart from the collections the account of ballances, and to enter into a feparate agreement with the collector, whereby he becomes refponfible for fuch ballances as upon enquiry fhall appear equitable, or may be pointed out to him by the government, or by his predeceffor in office. By thefe means the inconvenience of mingling the accounts of different years is avoided, and a door is fhut againft the fpecious pretext for haraffing and oppreffing the landholders for the recovery of outftanding debts.

17. In the eftimate now tranfmitted, you will perceive how the general cuftoms upon trade are diftinguifhed from thofe fmaller duties, which are included in the valuation of the lands. By general cuftoms we mean thofe duties levied at public and eftablifhed Chokies, upon all the greater branches of foreign and inland trade, not included in Duftuck privileges. Befides thefe are collected leffer duties, upon the articles of life and luxury, fold at the feveral markets and Bazars, which being comprehended in the rents, it would be unneceffary, and almoft impoffible to infert under particular and feparate heads.

18. Our concern at the enormous charges attending the collections of your revenue, has been repeatedly expreffed in our former letters. To this circumftance the Prefident gave fuch particular attention at the late Poonah, that we flatter ourfelves you will agree with us in opinion, the expences cannot reafonably be reduced lower than the rate they now ftand fpecified in the eftimate. Difmiffing the numerous rabble of troops kept up by the Fouzdars, and other officers of the government, hath not only proved a very extraordinary faving to the revenue, but a great fecurity to the permanency of our authority; therefore, to remove every fhadow of pretence for retaining a cuftom fo inconfiftent with, and injurious to well regulated government, we have been induced to raife another battalion of Sepoys, for the fervice of the Bahar collections, whereby we have increafed our military ftrength againft fuch occafions of danger as fhall happen, without incurring any additional expence.

19. The eſtimate of revenues to be collected this year in the Bahar province, will be ſettled next month, when the Poonah takes place. With reſpect to the collections of laſt year, we have the ſatisfaction to aſſure you they have been very cloſely kept up, and that very inconſiderable ballances will remain outſtanding, moſt of which ariſe from lands, which had been overcharged in the former eſtimate. When the Bahar ſtatement ſhall come to our hands, we propoſe drawing out, for yout inſpection, a general ſtatement of all your receipts and diſburſements, on whatever account ariſing, during the ſpace of one complete year.

20. We are ſenſible of the inconveniencies which frequently attended the entruſting favourites with too great a ſhare of executive authority. The inactivity and injudicious partiality of the ſovereigns to their dependents, have certainly given birth to the moſt dangerous convulſions in the ſtate. But, on the preſent ſyſtem of your political and military affairs, we think it impoſſible that danger can enſue from the degree of confidence and truſt repoſed in any officer of the government. On the the contrary, whilſt the ſword and revenues are held by us, it will be found abſolutely neceſſary to ſtrengthen, with all our authority, the hands of thoſe officers employed in the collections, to enable them to diſcharge the duties of their office, and counteract the numberleſs frauds and contrivances to elude payment of the revenues. It was from a ſenſe of this neceſſity, of his attachment to us, and of his extenſive acquaintance with the whole buſineſs of the finances, that we devolved on Mahomed Reza Cawn, ſo large a proportion of the weight of government, and particularly of the collections ; being convinced by experience of the truth of your remark, " That " an Engliſhman will ever be unfit to follow the ſubtle native through all his arts, " to conceal the real value of his country, to perplex and to elude the payments."

21. The cultivation of the mulberry-ſhrub, and increaſe of the article of ſilk, being of the utmoſt conſequence to the extenſion of your inveſtment, the Preſident, when he attended the Poonah, recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner to the miniſters, Zemindars, and landholders, this object of giving all poſſible encouragement for clearing and cultivating ſuch lands as will beſt anſwer the intention. The ſame endeavours will be uſed by the Collector-General to induce your own farmers in Burdwan and the Calcutta lands to purſue a branch of huſbandry that muſt tend equally to their advantage and to yours.

22. Although ſound policy may require we ſhould not be too ſolicitous to augment your revenues abroad, which, ſhould they be here unappropriated, would ſerve only to embarraſs your affairs ; yet the ſame policy dictates the neceſſity of reſuming to the government all lands and revenues alienated from it by fraud or force, or through inattention in the adminiſtration. Of this nature are Jagheer rents and lands, many of which are held by individuals, upon no other tenure than poſſeſſion acquired under a weak prince, a corrupt miniſtry, or the diſtracted ſituation of public affairs. Where ſuch poſſeſſions appear of a recent date, where they are founded upon no public grant, where the poſſeſſors are men neither of family, influence, nor character, in ſuch caſes our acquieſcence would denote a ſupineneſs or weakneſs injurious to the authority of government. We have therefore iſſued directions to Mr. Rumbold, in quality of collector of Bahar, to cauſe all perſons holding Jagheers to regiſter their Sunnuds in the head Cutcherry at Patna, giving, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our intentions to continue to ancient and reſpectable families, and to thoſe who have juſt claims, every reaſonable indulgence, which may ſerve to convince them of the juſtice and moderation of our government.

23. We have frequently expreſſed to you our apprehenſions leſt the annual exportation of treaſure to China would produce a ſcarcity of money in the country. This ſubject becomes every day more ſerious, as we already feel, in a very ſenſible manner, the

the effects of the confiderable drain made from the filver currency. Experience will ever yield ftronger conviction than the moft abftract and refined reafoning.

24. Whatever fums had formerly been remitted to Dehly were amply reimburfed by the retnrns made to the immenfe commerce of Bengal, which might be confidered as the central point to which all the riches of India were attracted. Its manufactures found their way to the remoteft part of Hindoftan, and fpecie flowed in by a thoufand channels that are at prefent loft and obftructed. All the European companies formed their inveftments with money brought into the country; the (1) Gulphs poured in their treafures into this river; and acrofs the continent, an inland trade was driven to the weftward to the extremity of the kingdom of Guzzerat.

25. How widely different from thefe are the prefent circumftances of the Nabob's dominions! Immenfe treafures have lately been carried out of the provinces by Coffim Ally Cawn, which may poffibly be referved as a fund to excite future troubles. Each of the European companies, by means of money taken up in the country, have greatly enlarged their annual inveftments, without adding a rupee to the riches of the province. On the contrary, the increafe of exports to Europe has proved fo great a reftraint upon the induftry of private merchants, that we will venture to affirm the ballance from Europe, in favour of Bengal, amounts to a very trifling fum in fpecie. We know of no foreign trade exifting at prefent, which produces a clear ballance in money, except that carried on with the ports of Judda, Mocha, and Baffora, from whence not fifteen lacks * in bullion have been returned in the courfe of four years.

This year the Dutch have imported nine lacks §; the two preceding years, their inveftment, as well as that of the French company, was provided by money paid into their treafury for affignments by bills on their conftituents in France and Holland; whereas, by an eftimate obtained from Chinfura, it appears that formerly the Dutch imported annually from thirty-fix to forty lacks †, taking the amount at a medium for ten years. Your own exports in bullion from England did not, one year with another, fall fhort of twelve or fourteen lacks ||, while the country was at the fame time gaining an increafe of money from the inveftments made by the Danes, Auftrians, and Pruffians. Upon the whole, fpecie was then brought in to the amount of ninety or an hundred lacks ‡ yearly; it now goes out to the amount of twenty-fix lacks ** every year in public money, if we include our remittances to the other Prefidencies as well as thofe to China, befides very confiderable fums carried on private account; and this lofs is ballanced by a trade with the Gulphs, which, at the higheft eftimation, cannot exceed five or fix lacks †† a-year. In fact, were no money iffued upon account of your China trade, the current fpecie muft annually decreafe, unlefs foreign trade fhall revive and flourifh, fo as to produce a more confiderable ballance in treafure.

27. Such, permit us to affure you, is the prefent ftate of the trade and currency of thefe provinces. What the iffue may be of fuch untoward fymptoms of decline we will not prefume to determine. This only we will remark, that unlefs we had palliated the evil by introducing a gold currency, and thereby increafed the circulating riches of the country, every individual muft have been deeply affected with the fcarcity of money. In proof of this affertion, we need only appeal to the quantity of gold mohurs received and given in payment by every merchant, who formerly tranfacted all bufinefs in filver rupees; nor does this proceed from choice or convenience, but from neceffity and the actual decreafe of filver money; neither can it proceed from the exportation of filver for the purchafe of gold, fince the profits arifing from that exchange would barely pay the intereft of money, a point which was thoroughly confidered when the par between filver and gold was calculated, on our adopting the prefent fcheme of gold coinage.

(1) The two Gulphs of Mocha and Perfia.

* 187,500 *l.* § 112,500 *l.* † From 450,000 *l.* to 500,000 *l.* || 150,000 *l.* or 175,000 *l.*
‡ 1,125,000 *l.* or 1,250,000 *l.* ** 325,000 *l.* †† 62,500 *l.* or 75,000 *l.*

28. The circumstances of your affairs require we should explain ourselves with freedom, and point out wherein we conceive your own orders have served to encrease this growing disease, for which a speedy and effectual remedy is required. It is true, you have been pleased to indulge your servants with a larger remittance than you allowed the preceding year; but by lowering the exchange, and cutting off interest for a complete year after bills are presented, you throw every advantage on the side of foreign remittances, and in a manner oblige all who are not possessed of very opulent fortunes to have recourse to the French and Dutch. To free merchants, and your servants who have been more than a year out of your employment, the terms are so very disadvantageous, and the proportion they can be allowed so small, that we much fear lest many will be tempted, and find means, in despite of our utmost endeavours, to remit the whole or a part of their fortunes in specie, which would still prove more injurious to the country than even remitting by foreign funds.

29. All these particulars being fully weighed and considered, we imagine you will be of opinion with us, that the balance, whatever it may be, of trade in favour of the country, will very inadequately compensate for the loss of those sums, which have issued at all quarters from this province. It is indeed difficult to ascertain exactly what this ballance really is, since it can neither be determined by the arbitration of exchange, where no exchange with foreign countries exists; nor be computed from the customs, where the whole trade doth not pass through one regular channel. We can only judge by the bullion imported; and that is much too inconsiderable to ease the apprehensions we entertain of the most alarming consequences.

30. Those disputes, in which we find ourselves unavoidably engaged with the agents of the other European companies, become also a subject of the most serious attention. We have, by every reasonable indulgence and concession, endeavoured to silence their clamours, but without effect. While the manufactures of the country are insufficient to answer the demands of each company, there must arise differences. The French and Dutch seem equally desirous with us to enlarge their investments beyond the former amount; insomuch, that were the natives utterly excluded from those privileges to which they have a natural and unquestionable right, it is matter of doubt whether there would be a sufficiency for the companies. Your servants too, who are denied every other means of improving their fortunes, cannot with any degree of justice be shut out from all participation of a trade in which they have ever been indulged. Neither is it possible, nor may it be thought reasonable, that free merchants permitted by you to reside and trade at the Presidency, should be deprived the usual advantages, whereby only they are enabled to carry on any commerce by sea.

31. Under these difficulties you must expect the complaints of natives and of foreigners will grow louder every day, unless you should determine to sacrifice that essential point to your interest; the remitting home by large investments the benefits of your acquisitions. In the present state of things we see no remedy except one, which may be thought ideal, namely, the entering into an agreement with foreign companies for providing their investments to a certain annual amount. This we mention rather as a hint, upon which you may possibly improve, than as a measure we shall presume to adopt, until a certain plan shall be adjusted between the companies at home, and recommended to their agents abroad. Most certain it is, that some conciliating steps taken in Europe can alone prevent the jealousies and differences subsisting in this country, from terminating in an open rupture, as soon as the French shall find themselves sufficiently established on the * Coast, and powerful at the † Islands, to enter upon such enterprizes.

32. By

* The Coast of Coromandel. † The Island of Mauritius, Bourbon, &c.

32. By advices lately received from the Coast, they have already resumed their former practices of secretly exciting disturbances, by a clandestine underhand correspondence with our enemies. A letter to us from the Secret Department at Fort St. George, intimates suspicions that the French on the island of Mauritius are actually corresponding with Hyder Naick; and private letters of a later date affirm, that several French officers are gone over to Hyder Naick and the * Subah; which, if true, leaves not the least room for doubt of their being countenanced by their superiors. The letter referred to from Madrass being long, we have not been able to get it transcribed in the book of letters, without detaining the dispatches.

33. Upon Mr. Becher's arrival he took his seat in Committee, agreeably to your appointment. During the time Mr. Russel held his seat, we must, in justice to that gentleman, acquaint you, that he pursued the business of the Committee, and your interests, with great zeal and capacity.

34. As most of the transactions of this Board stand fully expressed on the face of our proceedings, we shall decline entering upon a review of particulars, and beg leave to refer to the proceedings themselves, which are now under dispatch. We have the honour to forward the President's country correspondence; a duplicate of our Letter by the Mercury Packet was transmitting by the Hector, lately dispatched.

35. The Secretary requests your excuse, that several of the public papers go home written in different hands, which could not be avoided, on account of the death and sickness of some of the gentlemen employed in the office.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. X.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Oct. 6, 1767.

The detention of the Lord Holland, owing to the sickness that prevails among her people, affords us an opportunity of acquainting you with such particulars of the situation of your affairs on the Coast as are come to our knowledge since closing our dispatches under date the 25th ultimo.

The Subah of the Deccan having joined his forces to those of Hyder Ally, the united army was moving towards those passes which open into the Carnatic, in the neighbourhood of Trinamalley and Changama, and to the westward of Pondicherry and Fort St. David's. In the letters from the Coast the numbers of the enemy are not specified; but from the best accounts we have obtained, those of the Subah are no way formidable, and the troops under Hyder Ally do not exceed ten or twelve thousand men.

To this enemy the Presidency have opposed an army consisting of eight hundred Europeans, five thousand of the Company's sepoys, and a train of sixteen field pieces, under command of Colonel Joseph Smith. Colonel Wood has under him another body of troops composed of five hundred Europeans, and five thousand of the Company's and Nabob's Sepoys, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon.

It

* The Subah of the Deccan.

It was intended to effect a junction before they endeavoured to bring the confederates to a decisive action. In the mean time Colonel Smith declined coming to an engagement, that nothing might unnecessarily be put to the hazard; but as the Colonel had positive orders to fight, and could not be at a great distance from Colonel Wood's detachment, we are in daily expectation to hear of a battle. Nor are we very solicitous about the event, if the officers perform their duty; since a finer army in numbers and discipline was never at any time sent by the Honourable Company into the field.

The detachment of three battalions of sepoys sent from hence for the defence of the northern Sircars, must by this time, we flatter ourselves, have reached Vizagapatam; and probably the report of so considerable a reinforcement will operate powerfully on the conduct of the Subah, who hath not for many years beheld so great a force transported from one Presidency to another. With this detachment, joined to the troops already in the Sircars, we hope the gentlemen at Madrass will be able to prosecute the proposed expedition to the Subah's capital, which will not only oblige him to draw off great part of his army from the Carnatic, but cut off his resources, and spread general consternation over the face of his country.

Bengal being for the present in a state of perfect tranquillity, we have determined to lend the most vigorous support to the measures they are pursuing on the Coast. For this purpose we are, at their requisition, preparing with the utmost expedition all the shipping in the river, to transport to Mazulipatam, or Fort St. George, the whole of the first brigade, commanded by Colonel Joseph Peach; but as the season is far advanced, and it will require some time to clear out the Europe ships and embark the troops, we have directed three of your sloops to be got in immediate readiness to convey to Madrass two hundred Europeans for the security of the Presidency.

It is in consequence of advices received that the garrison is much weakened by detachments sent off to Colonel Smith, that we entered upon the resolution of embarking this detachment in vessels which, from their size and construction, are likely to make the quickest passages so late in the season. Experience hath shewn us, that to secure your investments and collections, it is necessary not only to keep off actual danger, but to guard against all apprehensions for the safety of the Presidency.

From these vigorous measures we doubt not but the Subah will have reason to repent his temerity, and be reduced to such concessions as will leave the gentlemen at Madrass to prosecute their schemes for the extirpation of Hyder Ally, whose growing power, sooner or later, threatens danger to the Honourable Company's possessions in the Carnatic.

We are sorry to acquaint you, that several parts of the country have been much exposed to inundations from the overflowing of the river, whence Mr. Sykes is apprehensive lest the investment and revenues may suffer. Yet as those accidents are always the most alarming on their first appearance, we entertain great hopes the damage will prove less considerable than is imagined.

Mr. Sykes requests you will accept his most grateful acknowledgements for the favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of his conduct, and his assurances that his utmost diligence shall be exerted to merit the continuance of your favour.

The dispatches from the public department, by the Lord Holland, were closed and ready to proceed down the river, on the 26 ult. when Captain Nairne reported to the Board the sickly condition of his ship, and that not three seamen were able to stand the deck. This unfortunate circumstance has occasioned a delay of several days, during which we have used our utmost endeavours to furnish him with men, by

taking

taking up all vagrants and ſtragglers from ſhips, who are in themſelves a nuiſance to the ſettlement. As the people are now recovering faſt, and the preſent appearance of the monſoon is extremely favourable, we flatter ourſelves the Lord Holland will ſtill clear the bay with eaſe, and ſuffer, in courſe of her paſſage, no conſiderable loſs of time from the paſt delays.

Since cloſing our diſpatches of the 25 ult. we received from Colonel Smith a report of ſome braſs cannon, which report was made a number in the public packet, and we hope will engage your ſerious conſideration. As the beſt teſtimony of the badneſs of the metal, and miſconduct of the founder, we ſhall direct the cannon to be ſent down, and will forward it to England by the firſt conveyance. All the ſmall arms we have this year received, appear to be of ſo good a quality, that although you have paid an advanced price, yet from the ſervice they will perform, it is to be preſumed the Company will in the end find themſelves gainers by changing their contracts.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, December 16, 1767.

Since our addreſs to you by the Lord Holland, a duplicate of which goes a number in the packet, ſcarce any material change of circumſtances in Bengal has occurred. Your affairs, civil, military, and political, continue to flow in the ſame proſperous channel, and have at preſent the appearance of much ſtability.

You will, however, obſerve from our proceedings, that Colonel Smith's letters to the ſelect Committee, repreſent as extremely ſuſpicious the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah's inclination towards the Engliſh Company. This judgment the Colonel founds upon the diligence which the Nabob exerts in forming his army, and eſtabliſhing his influence, as well as upon general rumour that he is preparing for a rupture.

Without ſuppoſing Sujah al Dowlah entertains deſigns, either contrary to the faith of treaties, or inconſiſtent with the moſt obvious dictates of common prudence and policy, we are of opinion theſe appearances, from which Colonel Smith draws his conjectures, may be as naturally explained upon the general principles adopted by all the powers of India. Like other Princes in his ſituation, he wiſhes to recover that degree of influence he once held in the empire, and by uniting with us in regulating the affairs of the Deccan, he propoſes to himſelf the ſureſt method he could ſuggeſt for obtaining his purpoſes. All his letters to the Preſident, ſince the war broke out upon the Coaſt, are filled with plans of operations, and ſchemes of alliance, which tend to his own aggrandizement, by means of our ſupport. The friendſhip of the Engliſh he conſiders as the foundation of ſucceſs; neither can we imagine, after the late experience he has had of our ſuperiority, that he will venture upon a freſh trial of our ſtrength, before he has fully recruited his army, repleniſhed his treaſures, eſtabliſhed himſelf in his country, and cemented a friendſhip with powers able and willing to ſupport his views.

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Yet although we are induced by these reasons to treat Sujah al Dowlah with great delicacy, and carefully to conceal every suspicion of his fidelity, we think it requisite to observe his conduct with circumspection, and check in the beginning those symptoms of ambition that may in time become dangerous. The President has with this view tendered our acknowledgments for his offers of assistance; but at the same time assured him, that the war on the Coast was by no means an object of our united strength, nor a sufficient cause why he should increase his forces at a great expence, which might serve only to produce conjectures to the prejudice of the friendship and harmony that subsist between him and the Company.

As the Nabob has himself recommended our keeping a brigade in his country, and continuing in possession of Allahabad, we entertained no doubt but he would readily comply with the President's request to stop his levies and reduce his forces, since we considered a proposition so incompatible with any views he might have to a rupture, as an earnest of his sincerity; and we have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that he has already entered upon the measures recommended.

In order, however, that not the least apprehension of danger should remain, we directed Colonel Smith to keep the most watchful eye upon the Nabob's conduct; and have also determined that the first brigade shall remain in their present station, until we have the most satisfactory assurances of security to these provinces.

Before this letter can reach your hands, you will probably receive by the Hector a detail, from the Presidency of Fort St. George, of their operations against the Subah and Hyder Ally. Our advices from thence have not lately been explicit enough to convey a distinct idea of their present situation and future prospects. We understand the advantage obtained over the enemy has proved less decisive than was at first imagined; and that Hyder Ally is now acting in the field, while the heavy rains oblige the troops of the Presidency to remain in cantonments. Such appearances of vigour in a country power are uncommon, and give reason to apprehend the war may be protracted to a much greater length than will prove convenient to your affairs; although, with respect to the issue, we cannot entertain a doubt. The detachments we have already sent, joined to the forces of the Presidency are, with any tolerable conduct, more than sufficient to beat all the Indian powers from Cape Comorin to Dehly. For this reason we have suspended the proposed embarkation of the remainder of the first brigade, that we may not unnecessarily incur an extraordinary expence, and expose the troops to fatigue and dangers that may be avoided: but they shall be held in readiness to proceed at a day's notice, whenever circumstances may require their service.

Private advices from the coast intimate, that matters will soon be accommodated with the Subah; and from the silence upon this subject observed in the public letters, we imagine that means are devising to separate him from his present alliance, in order they may be the more disengaged to prosecute the war against Hyder Ally. Should these conjectures be well founded, we have only to wish the Subah had been rendered more sensible of the importance of our friendship before he had experienced our generosity. It was always our opinion, expressed in the strongest terms to the gentlemen at Madrass, that no peace in which mutual stipulations were allowed, would be permanent; that * Nizam Ally should first be reduced to absolute dependence; that measures should be taken to confine the ambition of our neighbours at Pondicherry to the precise limits of the treaty; and that the most exact knowledge of the Subah's character and connections should be obtained, before he was restored to his dignity. What degree of influence these sentiments may produce in the counsels of your Presidency at Fort St. George, we cannot at present determine; but as we have hitherto acted in the most perfect harmony, it is probable our arguments will be allowed

* The Subah of the Deccan.

lowed their perfect weight. The letters which have passed between us, as they stand recorded on the face of our proceedings, will explain our sentiments more particularly.

In consequence of the demands upon us from the coast, we have been obliged to refuse those reinforcements to Captain Kinloch, for prosecuting the Napaul expedition, which he thinks necessary for succeeding in the attempt; and as the enterprize must now be deferred to a more convenient opportunity, Mr. Rumbold has orders to recall the detachment, keeping possession, however, of certain lands bordering on the Betteä country, which belonged to the Gourcullah Rajah, so rich and fertile as amply to indemnify the charges incurred. We have reason to believe there has been some misconduct in the officers employed, or forgery in the intelligence which gave birth to this expedition, else Captain Kinloch, with the force he commanded, must have succeeded in relieving the Rajah, and opening that communication with Bahar from which we expected very considerable advantages to the commerce of this country. The strictest enquiry shall be made into every circumstance, and you will be made acquainted with the particulars, we hope, by one of the ships of this season.

In our proceedings we have entered an account of the actual collections of the revenue in the province of Bahar, during the course of the last year, and also an estimate of revenues to be collected agreeably to the Kistbundee of the present year. Without any remarks from us, these accounts are themselves sufficient testimony that the collections have been regularly kept up, and every way answerable to the expectations we gave in our letter by the Lord Holland.

We send numbers in the packet, the broken sett of our proceedings from the last dispatch to this date, to which we beg leave to refer for such points as demand your more attentive consideration.

Before we close this dispatch, it is proper you should be acquainted, that, at their request, we furnished the Presidency of Fort St. George with three lacks *; and will in a few days send them a farther supply of five lacks †. The scarcity of silver, which already prevails, obliges us to make this remittance in gold, notwithstanding we are sensible that a very considerable loss will arise, upon account of the high valuation of the gold mohurs. We foresee the difficulties before us in making provision, agreeably to your orders, for supplying China with silver bullion even for this season; and have therefore requested the gentlemen at Madrass to purchase for that purpose all the silver they can procure: since, notwithstanding the Mocha ships are arrived, the silver imported into the river, during the whole course of the year, scarce exceeds a lack of rupees ‡. We have before repeatedly requested your attention to the consequences of this exportation of bullion; and we now beg leave to recommend the subject to your most serious consideration, assuring you, that should we find it at all practicable to make the usual remittances next year to China, the measure will prove fatal to your investment, and ruinous to the commerce of Bengal, by giving the entire command of the silver currency to foreign nations, who very politicly refuse to receive gold into their treasuries for bills.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

* 37,500 *l.* † 62,500 *l.* ‡ 12,500 *l.*

SUPPLEMENT.

To the above advices we beg leave to fubjoin, that we have received authentic information the French Council at Chandernagore have reduced their exchange on bills granted on their conftituents, to twenty-fix pence for the current rupee, or one penny lower than the exchange allowed to your fervants, ftipulating, at the fame time, that only bills for half the amount paid in fhall be granted for this feafon, and intereft upon the remainder, at the rate of fix per Cent. per annum, until bills are given the enfuing year.

This policy in them we muft regard as a convincing proof of the truth of thofe arguments urged in our letter by the Lord Holland, that lowering your exchange would throw the entire command of money into the hands of foreigners, and enable them to form large inveftments, by means of early advances, in defpite of all our endeavours. They have now in their treafury, at a low intereft, a fufficient fum for beginning the enfuing inveftment fome months fooner than otherwife they could advance a rupee; and this additional advantage accrues to them from reducing their exchange, that where you gain one penny upon the exchange of the rupee, in the limited fum allowed to be remitted from hence, they gain two pence in the exchange upon the much larger fums employed in making their inveftment. Every means in our power fhall be exerted to convey to you the fruits of your late acquifitions; but while all poffible advantages reft in the hands of our rivals in trade, we muft expect to encounter many difappointments and difficulties.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICHARD BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Jan. 5. 1768.

Our laft addrefs, under date the 16th ultimo, waited on you per Norfolk, and a duplicate thereof we have the honour to tranfmit by this conveyance.

We have as yet no reafon to deviate from our opinion with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct. The expreffions in his letters to the Prefident, of his attachment and fidelity to the engagements he has entered into with us are as warm as ever; and he declares, that the troops he lately levied were intended for the fole purpofe of acting in conjunction with your's in the Deccan, had his offers of fervice been accepted. We expect, however, he will give us a more convincing proof of his affertions, by a fpeedy reduction of his forces, which, the Prefident has been informed, he has begun.

In confequence of advices received from the gentlemen at Madrafs, of Hyder Ally's having again taken the field, we immediately determined on fending Colonel Jofeph Peach to Mazulipatam, with a complete company of grenadiers belonging to his regiment, fifty artillery-men, one twelve-pounder, two fix-pounders, on howitz, and royal, with an ample fupply of ftores for immediate fervice. This detachment, with the European troops before fent, and thofe of the Prefidency ftationed in the Sircars, will form a corps of more than five hundred Europeans rank and file, exclufive of the artillery

artillery and Sepoys; a force, we doubt not, very sufficient to reduce the whole province, if such a plan should be adopted. Colonel Peach accordingly embarked a few days after with his detachment in the ship Egmont, the commander whereof had orders to land them at Mazulipatam, and afterwards to proceed to Madrass with gold to the amount of five lacks of rupees*, and other consignments he had on board for that Presidency.

As the detachments we have lately sent from hence make a considerable reduction of our force, it is possible that some of the country powers may venture to make attempts on these provinces. This is a cicumstance that has not escaped our mature consideration; for, regardful of the danger which may threaten us at home, and considering the convenient situation of our troops employed in the Deccan between the two Presidencies, we have acquainted the gentlemen at Madrass, that we reserve to ourselves the power of recalling the troops under this establishment whenever the most pressing exigency of our affairs may require it; and the President has, in his instructions to Colonel Peach, directed him to pay an implicit obedience, should it be judged expedient to send him such an order.

By private letters since received from Fort St. George, under date the 28th of November, we learn, Hyder Ally, so far from being intimidated by the victory lately obtained over him by your troops, breathes nothing but vengeance, and is resolved to trust his future hopes to the issue of a second engagement; that your army, consisting of one thousand Europeans, seven battalions of Sepoys, and sixteen pieces of cannon, has taken the field under the command of Colonel Joseph Smith, and is marched to the relief of Amboor, a strong fortress, against which the enemy had erected seven batteries; that Colonel Wood had also marched from Trichinopoly with a detachment of five hundred Europeans, four battalions of Sepoys, and twelve field-pieces, to form a junction: and the same advices, which are indubitable, intimate, that the President and Council there had accepted some proposals made to them by the European officers of Hyder Ally's army, by which they engaged to revolt, with all his European cavalry and Japass regiments, or to turn his cannon against him on the day of action.

The remainder of the first brigade, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Pemble, is gone into cantonments at Ghyretty, where it is near at hand to reinforce the detachments already sent to Mazulipatam, or even to proceed to Madrass, should the situation of their affairs there require our further assistance.

The President has again received letters from Janoojee and Ragoo-naut Row, demanding payment of the Chout; and we are informed that the latter of those chiefs has assembled an army at Berar, with which he purposes to enter Hindostan. Altho' we are not under the least apprehensions from that quarter, we communicated this intelligence to Colonel Smith, who still remains with the third brigade at Allahabad, and have desired him to keep a watchful eye over the actions of the Maharattas.

We have also received advice, that Rajah Narraindoo has compelled Mr. Lowe, the Resident at Ganjam, to retire to Tezagapatam, and put a stop to the intercourse between the two Presidencies through his country.

We must request, that you will be pleased to supply us with cannon for field-service by every occasion, the number we have now in store being only ten, which is insufficient to supply the demand made on us by Colonel Smith for the service of the army. The utility of this article, and the fatal consequences which may attend the want of it, are, we persuade ourselves, too obvious to need our enlarging on the subject.

A general statement of our revenues, and account of the disbursements for the last year, commencing on the 1st of January, 1767, shall be drawn out as soon as the different abstracts can be collected, and, we hope, will be transmitted to you by the

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* 62,500 *l.*

last ship of this season. This, we flatter ourselves, will be satisfactory; as you may thereby perceive, at one point of view, the state of your receipts and issues for the whole year.

Mr. Campbell being necessitated to proceed to Europe in the ship now under dispatch, has resigned his employ of Secretary to our Board. We must here, in justice to that gentleman, assure you of the high sense we entertain of the zeal, attention, and abilities, with which he has pursued your interests, during the course of his long services in this branch of your affairs.

We have thought proper to nominate Mr. Ffloyer to succeed him, who has accordingly received the charge of his office, and has a seat and voice at our Board in the absence of any one member.

We have the pleasure to transmit you by this packet a complete set of books and papers for the year 1767, as per accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICH. BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort-William, Feb. 3, 1768.

The short interval between the departure of the Europa, by which we had the honour to address you, and the present dispatch of the Earl of Elgin, affords us but little matter to communicate by this conveyance, more particularly as we have been explicit in our advices by the preceding ships of this season.

After a long state of suspence we had been in for the issue of your military operations on the Coast of Coromandel, we were this day agreeably relieved by the receipt of a letter from the Secret Department at Madrass, under date the 15th December, advising us that your army had, on the 7th of last month, defeated that of Hyder Ally a second time, and had obliged him to retire with precipitation to Covrepatam. A copy of the letter, which is the only one we have received from that Presidency since the 20th November last, we have the honour to transmit a number in the packet, for your farther information.

The overtures lately made to the President of Fort St. George by Ruccum al Dowlah, for an accommodation between the Company and the Subah, we are glad to perceive were rejected with disdain. They cannot be too cautions in re-admitting to an alliance with them a man whose perfidious conduct is still so very recent. A person so unsteady in his conduct, and ambitious in his nature, can never be the real well-wisher of a power he has so much injured.

We hope ere now the last division of our reinforcement to the Deccan, under the command of Colonel Joseph Peach, is safely arrived and entered upon the scene of action. A force so formidable in itself, and so little expected from a distant settlement, will, we doubt not, strike a terror in the Subah's breast, and induce him to withdraw his forces from Hyder Ally, for the security of his own territories.

By letters some time since received from the gentlemen at Madrass, (which being entered on the face of our proceedings transmitted by the Europa, we beg leave to refer

refer you to) it appeared, that they laboured under great difficulties in the nomination of a Subah to that province, in case Nizam Ally should, by an obstinate perseverance in his unjust measures, oblige them to deprive him of his government; and they were even pleased to request our opinion in a matter of so great importance. We expressed ourselves with that unreserved freedom which we wish may mutually subsist between the two Presidencies; and judging it expedient to secure the King's Firmaun for the nomination of some other person, our President was desired to apply for the same to his Majesty, who has been pleased to comply with his request, and, in a letter lately received from him, he promised to dispatch a blank Firmaun within five days of the date thereof, to be filled up with the name of any person we may judge most proper, for the security and lasting tranquility of your possessions on the coast. This is a power we should be loath to avail ourselves of, excepting in a case of the utmost necessity, and such we fear this will prove, if we can form our judgment from the present situation of affairs.

When we behold one of the finest armies which had ever yet appeared in Hindostan, taking the field against a body of undisciplined troops, we cannot entertain a doubt but your arms will be attended with every desirable success. Hyder Ally has already experienced the superiority of your forces, and now that desertion has taken place in his army, cannot but be apprehensive of the dangers with which he is threatened; and we flatter ourselves, that you will soon be compensated by an honourable and lasting peace, for the war and devastations which have too much of late troubled the repose of the Carnatic. We conclude you will be fully advised, from the President and Council at Fort St. George, of all their proceedings since the commencement of hostilities.

We have very fully represented in our letters of this season, by the Lord Holland and Norfolk, our apprehensions of the fatal consequences which must unavoidably attend the vast exportation of silver out of this country: we now experienced them in a very alarming degree, for it is difficult to procure silver at the Presidency, in exchange even for an hundred gold mohurs. If you will be pleased to examine your treasury accounts, you will there find nearly to half the amount of your treasure in gold; nor can we devise an effectual method for preventing an event which must prove ruinous to the commerce of this opulent kingdom. To have sent to China in gold specie the whole amount of our remittance of * 24 lacks, would have been incurring a heavy loss, and probably embarrassed your Council at Canton, in the provision of your China investment. We were desirous of embracing every opportunity to check this growing evil, without falling short of the annual supply; and the gentlemen at Madrass, in a letter to this committee, having recommended the supplies being sent in gold, provided Arcot rupees were not procurable, silver being then cheap. The Board determined to send only one half in silver, and the remainder in gold. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that † sixteen lacks have been already forwarded to that Presidency for the China investment, and the remaining ‖ eight lacks will follow in a few days.

Our President has lately received some proposals from the French Governor at Chandernagore, for carrying on the investment of their Company in conjunction with your's, by receiving such a proportion as we may mutually judge equitable; and the whole to be conducted by your Gomastahs. Should this proposal, on mature deliberation, be found eligible, by preventing the frequent disputes which will ever unavoidably arise while Gomastahs are employed on the part of both nations; and that the provision of your investment will in no shape suffer, we shall, as a preliminary article, insist upon their importing bullion for the providing of their investment, which,

* 300,000 *l.* † 200,000 *l.* ‖ 100,000 *l.*

which, without such a clause, they may not do for some years to come; for, notwithstanding every precaution on our part, whilst remittances stand as they now do, it will be out of our power to prevent their fully supplying themselves with whatever sums they may require for bills on Europe.

The country is at present in a perfect state of tranquility; but as this is the season for the Maharattas, and other country powers, to take the field, we cannot yet, with the least degree of certainty, judge of the measures they may pursue; for which reason we conceive it is necessary to keep the third brigade still at Allahabad; but so soon as this necessity ceases, you may be assured it shall be withdrawn.

By this conveyance we have the pleasure to transmit to you the broken sett of our proceedings, and other books and papers, as per accompanying list, and have the honour to be, with great respect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECKER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIV.

To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort-William, February 9, 1768.

We embrace the opportunity of the Northington's dispatch, to acquaint you with such material occurrences as have happened since our last advices, under date the 3d instant, duplicate whereof we have the honour to transmit a number in this packet.

The town of Chandernagore having last season proved unhealthy, from the great quantity of water which settled therein, the gentlemen thought it necessary to have a ditch made round it, with drains to carry off the water into the Ganges. This gave rise to a report which was communicated to the officers of the government, as the first step towards erecting a fortification, and they accordingly complained of it as such to the President. Upon Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, shortly after he, and Mr. Chevalier the French Director, requested that an engineer might be sent from hence to survey that work. Captain Martin was accordingly sent to Chandernagore for that purpose, who has given it as his opinion, that it could not, in any degree, be deemed a fortification, or answer any other purpose than what Mr. Chevalier assured the President it was intended for.

We shall ever encourage the Nabob's vigilance, and assist his authority in putting an early and effectual stop to the innovations of our European neighbours; and we think it very necessary to be circumspect over all their actions; conscious that the stability of your valuable possessions depends greatly on their inability to disturb the happy state of tranquility they now enjoy.

By the complete sett of country correspondence, transmitted by the Europa, you will observe that Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, is very solicitous in his demands for the Chout, which had regularly been paid during the latter part of Alliverdy Cawn's government. Notwithstanding the imperious style of his letter, we could plainly perceive, from the knowledge we have acquired of the customs and manners of the Maharattas, that he was desirous to treat with us for the cession of Cuttack, and of which we have been lately assured by his Vackeel, a person of character and station, and who stands high in the esteem of his master.

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The President, since Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, has, in conjunction with that minister, had several conferences with the Vackeel on the subject; who assured them that his master would not listen to any accommodation for the cession of Cuttack, and consideration for the Chout, on any other terms than the annual payment of sixteen lacks of rupees *, to be accounted for from the time the Company took charge of the Dewanny of these provinces; and the Select Committee on their behalf to be guarantees for the Nabob's faithful performance of the treaty. In support of the propriety of these demands he recited the promise made to his master by Mr. Vansittart in the year 1763, of paying him all the arrears of the Chout, on condition that he did not join his forces to the troops of Cossim Ally Cawn, the then Nabob; and laid much stress upon the assurances given him by Lord Clive, that whenever this treaty should be concluded, the annual sum stipulated for, should commence from the time the Company were invested with the Dewanny of these provinces. After many debates the Vackeel consented, with assurances of his master's concurrence also, that the rents which have been collected in Orissa during the above period, should be set against the annual arrears which he demanded.

By such an agreement, and a proper examination of their accounts, the arrears will be considerably diminished; and although we must expect, from the distracted state of the Maharatta government, that they have not collected the whole amount of the revenues of that province; yet we have reason to believe, that under your government, and the immediate inspection of your servants, they may in time amount to, if not exceed, the annual tribute demanded.

As this was a matter which we deemed of the highest importance, so it has engaged our most serious attention. When we considered the many benefits which must naturally result from thus uniting the Company's territories on the Coast with your valuable possessions in Bengal; a step which will complete the chain of your influence and dominion from the banks of the Caramnassa to the farthest extremity of the coast of Coromandel; a measure that must tend so greatly to the preservation of both settlements, by the mutual support it will enable them at all times to give each other; the removing at once every pretence of the Maharattas for disturbing the peace and tranquillity of these provinces, and the shock it will give to their strength and power whenever it may be found necessary to separate so principal a member as Janoojee, who, during the whole course of his negociations, has expressed an earnest desire to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with us: all these considerations having been attentively weighed and debated in Committee, we resolved to acquiesce in the proposals of the Vackeel, and to bring the treaty to as speedy a conclusion as possible. Our President has accordingly signified our assent in a letter to Janoojee, and has requested of the Nabob to agree to it on his part. Copies of the proposed agreements on the part of the Nabob and us being entered after our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you to them; and we flatter ourselves our conduct herein will meet with the honour of your sanction and approbation.

In our address by the Norfolk you were made acquainted with our reasons for not reinforcing the detachment under the command of Captain Kinloch, in order to effect the first intention of the expedition to Napaul. We attributed the failure of that enterprize to a misconduct in the commanding officer, and accordingly directed Mr. Rumbold, chief of Patna, to order Captain Kinloch to repair thither, that a court of enquiry might sit on his conduct. But Mr. Rumbold, in his reply to our letter on that subject, having set forth the many unsurmountable and unavoidable accidents which that officer met with in the course of his march, which occasioned the failure of the expedition, we countermanded our orders for recalling him; and directed

* 200,000 l.

directed him to secure the acquisition of lands in that country, which we hope will fully indemnify the Company for the charge incurred on that enterprize; it being our determined resolution not to make a second attempt, while there is any probability of a further reinforcement being wanted from hence for the assistance of the Madrass Presidency.

Mahomed Reza Cawn, who frequently complained to the Presidency of the declining state of his health, occasioned by a continual application to the business of the government, has lately requested our permission for the nomination of some person to assist him, as he may be frequently rendered incapable of attending himself to the business of the Cutcherry, or any other accident should befal him; and recommended Fatty Ally Cawn, who had for some time past been assisting, and whom he should as fully as in his power instruct in the business. We deemed his request but reasonable; and Mr. Sykes informing us that the person recommended was of integrity, attention, and abilities, we readily consented to his appointment.

We must, in justice to Mahomed Reza Cawn, express the high sense we entertain of the abilities and indefatigable attention he has shewn in the execution of the important trust reposed in him; and we cannot but lament the prospect of losing his services from the present declining state of his health.

It is with pleasure we observe, that so small a sum only as rupees * 46,205 . 14 . 3 was deemed irrecoverable, from the outstanding balance of the Bahar revenues for the last year, amounting to rupees † 541,327 . 11 . 6. Mr. Rumbold's conduct in the collections has met with our entire approbation; and we do not doubt, but the tour he proposes to make through the different parts of that province will afford him an opportunity of making a more minute adjustment of the revenues. Mr. Sykes's late journey to the Dinagepore and Purnea countries, affords us a prospect of the good effects which are likely to ensue from a strict examination into the state of the collections. The frauds, embezzlements, and a variety of atrocious crimes committed by the Zemindars and officers of the government invested with the charge of those collections appear in the most glaring light, the timely detection whereof may be productive of a considerable increase of your revenues. We have the accounts at present under examination; and in the mean time have recommended it to the ministers to make very severe examples of the offenders, in order to deter others from the like practices in future.

We highly commend the zeal, attention, and assiduity with which Mr. Sykes has exerted himself for your interests on this and every other occasion, which has fallen under his department.

Having reason to believe that some Europeans still continue in different parts of the country, carrying on a trade there in defiance of the repeated orders of the Select Committee, we have again laid positive injunctions on the chiefs of Subordinates and commanders of the brigades, to apprehend and send down immediately to the Presidency all such persons who may be found without a proper licence from the Select Committee, or the Governor. For thoroughly persuaded as we are, that such a practice is subversive of the peace, tranquillity, and good government of this country, we are determined that our orders shall be strictly obeyed.

Mr. George Vansittart has transmitted to us several abstracts of the collections in the Midnapore and Jellasore provinces, with some other papers relative thereto, written in the Bengal language. We have directed him to send down to Calcutta, the persons from whom those accounts were taken, that they may be sworn to, attested, and recorded in the Mayor's Court. In the mean time the Bengal papers are ordered to

* About 5,775 *l.* † About 67,665 *l.*

to be translated, and we hope to send them to you properly authenticated, by the Admiral Pococke.

By private advices which the President has lately received from Colonel Joseph Peach, commanding the troops in the Deccan, destined against Hyder-abad, we learn, that they had advanced within forty-four Coss of that city, after having taken Cemamet, a strong fortress, and another fort called Wellengalt: that the Colonel was only waiting for a supply of musquet ammunition to proceed on his journey; and that the enemy have little or no force to oppose them.

By letters which the President has also received from Madrass, we are informed, that Ruccun al Dowlah, the prime minister of Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan, had been for some days negociating with Colonel Joseph Smith, for an accommodation between the Subah and the English; and for this purpose it was said, that Ruccun al Dowlah intended to proceed to Madrass, finally to conclude with the gentlemen there a treaty of peace, on the part of his master, who seem, by their last advices, inclined to encourage the advances made by the Subah for that purpose.

We have, since our last dispatch, received several letters from Colonel Smith, concerning his sentiments of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah; but as we have no reason to alter the opinion we have hitherto entertained of the Vizier, we have only to refer you to the Colonel's letters, which appear upon our proceedings.

We have the pleasure to transmit you by this packet, the broken sett of Committee proceedings since the last dispatch, and other papers as by the accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 24, 1768.

The dispatch of the Admiral Pococke, the last of your annual shipping, affords us an opportunity to advise you of the occurrences which have happened since our last address, under date the 29th ultimo, a duplicate whereof we have the honour to enclose.

Munneer al Dowlah's conduct, since his return to Allahabad from the Presidency, has caused a discontent in the mind of Sujah al Dowlah. The authority which he has assumed over the royal house, and particularly of the Vizârut, which the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah was invested with at our request, gives us too much reason to conclude he has filled the royal ear with ideas unfavourable to the Vizier, as well as the solemn engagement we have entered into. When we consider the haughty disposition of a person, whose reputation and influence are very considerable in the empire, we cannot be surprised if he takes offence at being deprived of those honours he is entitled to, and which, with a lavish hand, have been conferred upon another; who, in reality, is a servant of the Vizier's, and placed by him near his majesty's person. He has, on many occasions, represented to our President, the uneasiness such a conduct has given him; reminded him of his appointment to that dignity when the treaty was concluded, and signified his earnest desire, through our mediation, to be invested with the authority thus with-held from him by the jealousy of the King,

and the artifices of a favourite servant. He has repeated assurances that we will religiously adhere to the treaty subsisting between us: and Munneer al Dowlah has been told, that his late conduct has incurred our displeasure; and that we expect, if he regards our friendship, he will make proper concessions to the Vizier, for the disrespectful behaviour he has observed towards him.

Sujah al Dowlah, in his letters to his majesty, solicits to be admitted into the royal presence, and to a share in his councils and administrations; but his solicitations have not yet had the desired effect.

By a letter from Colonel Sir Robert Barker we perceive, with pleasure, the prospect of a reconciliation between the Vizier and Munneer al Dowlah. He therein acquaints us, that the former is desirous of an interview at Faiz-abad, and we have directed him to prevail upon the latter to accompany him thither. We do not doubt but a meeting will be effected, and that the subject of the present disputes will be terminated to the satisfaction of the King and his Vizier.

We can hardly expect that his majesty will consent to Sujah al Dowlah's officiating near his royal person, nor indeed is that a point insisted on; but we think it but just and reasonable he should be consulted with, and informed of all material transactions at court; as the seal of the Vizârut is in his name, and actually made use of as a signet to the royal mandates.

Should the King persist in his refusal to admit Sujah al Dowlah again to his honours, we shall seriously remind him of the solemn engagements we have reciprocally entered into, for the security of his majesty's person, the defence of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and the peace and tranquility of these provinces. We shall also point out to him, the ill consequences which may attend a rupture, which he thus endeavours to effect, with a man formidable as Sujah al Dowlah; and although it is our determination to adhere inviolably to the treaty we have made with his majesty, we must not forget that we are equally bound in friendship to Sujah al Dowlah.

By letters from the secret department at Madrass, we have the pleasure to be informed they have concluded a treaty with the ¶ Subah, and that a deputation was sent to him to see it ratified. The President having in private letters from thence received a copy of the terms which have been mutually assented to, we conclude a knowledge of them will afford you satisfaction, and have the honour to transmit them to you a number in this packet.

We beg leave to congratulate you on an event which promises so favourable a prospect of reducing Hyder Ally, and effectually securing your possessions on the Coast. The rebel thus deserted by the Subah, disturbed by the Maharattas, and threatened with the loss of his possessions on the Malabar Coast, by a considerable detachment of your forces, which the gentlemen of Bombay have destined for that service, must soon fall a sacrifice to his ambitious projects; and his ruin will, we hope, establish a lasting peace and tranquility in the Carnatic, and fix your possessions on a permanent and solid basis.

The demands made on us from the Presidency of Madrass, for the support of the war, amount to * 20 lacks of rupees. We have determined to supply them with † 12 lacks from your treasury, and have desired them to appropriate ‡ three lacks for that use from the sums we have remitted thither, for the service of your China investment. They will, by such means, be furnished with an immediate supply of ‖ 15 lacks of rupees, to enable them to prosecute the war against Hyder Ally; and we have promised them a farther sum of § five lacks early in September, should they require it.

The great demands which have been made on this Presidency for supplies of money from every quarter, have reduced your treasury to a very low state, and alarm us for

* 250,000 *l.* † 150,000 *l.* ‡ 37,500 *l.* ‖ 187,500 *l.* § 62,500 *l.*

¶ Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.

for the consequences which must inevitably attend such a vast exportation from this country. We are apprehensive that the very great scarcity of silver must affect your investment for the ensuing season, as it is with the utmost difficulty we now procure sufficient for the immediate necessary advances for that purpose.

We have so frequently represented to you the fatal consequences with which we are threatened, by the great exportation of silver from hence, that we are persuaded you will leave no measures uneffected to relieve us from our approaching distressful state.

It is with great concern we observe so great a part of our proceedings filled with disagreeable altercations between Colonel Smith and the Select Committee. We wish to preserve that harmony and unanimity which has so long subsisted between the members of this Board, as we are sensible such a conduct alone can tend to the prosperity of your affairs, and to preserve that degree of subordination which is happily established among your servants. In order, therefore, to remove every cause for future discontent between us and the Colonel, we have very fully pointed out to him the authority which we deem vested by our honourable employers in us and in our President; and we doubt not but such a step will be productive of that harmony in future, which we are desirous to effect.

A difference in opinion amongst us may easily arise, and cannot be deemed a crime in any person; but we wish to preserve it within proper limits, as we can never admit any single member of our Board to act independently, and even without previously consulting us, in matters of the greatest importance. As we entertain the most favourable sentiments of the merit and abilities of Colonel Smith, we cheerfully consent to refer the subjects of our differences to your impartial determination.

We are sorry it is not in our power to transmit you by this conveyance, translates of the Bengal accounts of the Midnapore and Jellasore collections, which we before advised you had been sent us by Mr. George Vansittart, as they are very voluminous, and require first to be translated into the Persian language, and from thence into English, which our time will not admit of. The abstracts, however, now wait on you numbers in the packet, certified by our Secretary to be true copies of the original papers, transmitted from Midnapore.

We have the pleasure to transmit you Mr. Sykes's correspondence with the Zemindars, and other officers of the government; the broken sett of our proceedings since the last dispatch, and other papers as by the accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XVI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 13, 1768.

We had the honour to advise you in our address by the Admiral Pococke, under date the 24th March last, of all material occurrences in your affairs under our direction, and to transmit to you our proceedings down to that period of time; a duplicate of those advices now waits on you a number in this packet.

We have been favoured with your commands bearing dates the 20th November 1767, the 12th January, and 16th March 1768, by the feveral fhips of this feafon, to which you may be affured all due obedience fhall be paid, unlefs a deviation from any part of them may be deemed moft conducive to your intereft. Senfible of the important truft repofed in the Select Committee, their warmeft endeavours have been exerted to uphold the influence you have happily acquired; and to fecure upon the moft permanent foundation, your great and valuable poffeffions in thefe provinces. We are happy to perceive the fuccefs with which their labours have been crowned, has rendered it unneceffary for you to continue to us thofe fuperintending powers with which they have heretofore been vefted. The concluding of treaties, difburfements of money, and the fupreme power over your military, will therefore in future be conducted by your Prefident and Council; and we fhall continue in the management of your political concerns, and the collection of the Dewanny revenues, within the limitation prefcribed by your late orders.

The Prefident and Council having referred to us the 55, 56, and 58 paragraphs of your letter to them, of the 20th November 1767, we forwarded the fame to the refident at the Durbar, with directions to tranfmit to us all his accounts of the revenues adjufted to the 31ft July, in time, if poffible to be laid before that Board, and fent you by this opportunity.

The 23, 26, 30, 31, and 32 paragraphs of your commands to us, dated 16th March, have likewife been fent to Mr. Sykes. We have directed him to reprefent to the minifters the impropriety of their holding lands under the country government; and that it is expected they will difcontinue that practice in future. We directed him alfo to draw out an account of the charges of collections in the Dacca province, and an account of all difburfements whatfoever, which have caufed deductions from the annual amount of its revenues; which, when tranfmitted to us, fhall be forwarded for your particular information.

We have recommended to him to obtain information from the minifters, how far the introduction of our laws of inheritance, which you have been pleafed to point out to us, may affect the claims of the country government over the natural rights of the native.

The Poonah was held at Murfhed-abad, with the ufual forms and folemnity, the 14th May laft; the Prefident being unable to affift thereat in perfon, by reafon of his ill ftate of health, Mr. Cartier proceeded up to the city on that occafion, and officiated in his ftead. The eftimate then formed of the revenues, to be collected in the prefent year, is entered upon the face of our proceedings, which we have the honour to tranfmit by this conveyance; and we beg leave to refer to the letters addreffed jointly from Meffrs. Cartier and Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the ftatement is formed.

Thofe gentlemen deferred the holding of the Poonah as long as it could prudently be done, without endangering the current collections, in order to bring in as much as poffible of the outftanding ballances of laft year. They are as fmall as we could reafonably expect; and have arifen from the remarkable inundation of laft feafon, and other cafualties, unavoidable in the collection of revenues in a country of fuch vaft extent. You will be pleafed to obferve, that among the ballances incurred, is one lack * of rupees, occafioned by a deficiency in the revenues of Dinagepore; notwithftanding Mr. Sykes affures us, he has paid the greateft attention to the collections of that province, from a fufpicion of many frudulent practices having been committed there by the Zemindars and other officers of the government, and the very oppreffive meafures they have purfued towards the farmers of thofe lands. Every poffible endeavour has been ufed in obtaining the ballance from the late collector of

that

* 12,500 l.

that province. He at first seemed willing to pay that sum; but at length absolutely refused, unless he was reinstated in the management of Rungpore and Dinagepore, and permitted to take those countries on his own terms. So insolent a refusal, and a proposal so injurious to your interest, induced the ministers to dismiss him from his employment; and we are exerting our utmost endeavours to recover the ballance due.

Mr. Rooke is, for the present, at Dinagepore, in order to convey such informations to the resident at the Durbar as he may obtain, of the mal-practices pursued by the officers entrusted with the management of the collections in that province: but we have strictly forbid that he interferes in any degree whatsoever with the country government; and we have directed that he remain no longer than is absolutely necessary for that service.

The accounts of Meerza Cossim, the late Fouzdar of Houghly, are still under the examination of the ministers. Frauds have already been discovered therein, to the amount of * 120,000 rupees; of which sum, † 100,000 rupees have been recovered into the treasury at Murshed-abad.

Mr. Sykes has represented to us the inconvenience he must labour under in transacting the business of the Durbar, from the Council's having appropriated Midnapore house to the use of the chief at Cossimbazar; which place he has for some time past made his principal residence, by reason of the unhealthy situation of Mooty-jeel. We could not, with the least degree of delicacy to that Board, take this matter again into consideration; and he was therefore told it should be referred to the decision of you, our honourable employers.

The Bahar collections have this year been nearly adequate to the preceding. Mr. Rumbold advises us, that the revenues being almost collected, he proposes making a tour through that province, accompanied by Rajah Seetabroy, and to settle the Bundabust for the ensuing year, from which tour we flatter onrselves that we shall acquire a more exact knowledge of the state of that province.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, having complained in his letters to the President of the misconduct of Gomastahs trading in his dominions under the sanction of the English name, we did not hesitate to give him an early proof of our regard to his representations; and accordingly came to a resolution of prohibiting all your servants, as well as other Europeans residing under your direction, from carrying any trade, directly or indirectly, beyond the provinces, after a certain time limited for the adjustment of their outstanding concerns, under pain of confiscation of his goods, and dismission from your service, if a covenanted servant; and if a free merchant, or other European, the immediate loss of your protection. Such orders have been issued, and such precautions taken in the posting of officers at the different stations on the rivers, as have enforced this regulation in the most effectual manner.

Having on all occasions most religiously fulfilled the articles of our treaty with the Vizier, we entertained hopes that our attachment to his interests would dispel every suspicion which his jealousy of our superior influence might probably have created in his breast; but so far from having produced that happy effect, we have too much reason to believe that his unbounded ambition will make him regard us rather as his rivals for power, than his steady friends; and that his attachment to us proceeds from his inability to deprive us of that reputation we have established in an empire, in which he and his family have borne the most exalted stations in the royal house.

The Nabob continues to be extremely solicitous to be invested with the full authority of Vizier, and to enter upon the functions of that office. The King is equally averse

* 15,000 *l.* † 12,500 *l.*

averſe to the Nabob's requeſt, and poſitive in refuſing him any other power than the nominal dignity. Our mediation has been ſolicited by them both, and our repreſentations have not been wanting; but the imperious conduct of the Nabob towards his royal maſter, and the enmity ſubſiſting between them, will, we apprehend, prove an inſuperable bar to their reconciliation.

We cannot but with concern obſerve, that our ſentiments with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct greatly differ from thoſe we had the honour to tranſmit to you by the ſhips of laſt ſeaſon. Events ſince that period, will, we doubt not, juſtify the change; and make it a duty incumbent on us, as we regard the welfare of the Company, to adopt every prudent meaſure for evading the blow it is not impoſſible he may be meditating againſt their valuable poſſeſſions in theſe provinces. When we conſidered the very rapid progreſs he has lately made in his levies of troops; his extraordinary vigilance in the diſcipline of his army; the reports which we have received of his inviting auxiliaries into his ſervice, at a time when perfect tranquility ſeemed to reign throughout the empire; the connections he is forming with different powers; the eſtabliſhing a foundery, which has already ſupplied him with a quantity of cannon for field ſervice; and his amazing improvement in the making of ſmall arms, which are by no means inferior in quality to the very beſt exported to India: all theſe were circumſtances which naturally demanded our moſt ſerious attention, and compelled us to reſolve upon loſing as little time as poſſible in arriving to ſome degree of certainty with regard to his future deſigns.

As previous ſteps towards the ſecurity of your brigade ſtationed at Allahabad, we immediately came to a reſolution of eſtabliſhing a magazine of proviſions in that fort for their maintenance, and on ſending up a ſupply of * ten lacks of rupees for their ſubſiſtence, as ſoon as the ſtate of the Murſhed-abad or Patna treaſury ſhould enable us to appropriate ſo large a ſum for that purpoſe.

Senſible of the vaſt importance of the fort of Chunar to Sujah al Dowlah, in caſe he ſhould come to an open rupture with us, we have directed Colonel Barker to reinforce the garriſon we have at preſent therein, ſhould he have reaſon to judge ſuch a ſtep neceſſary from the future operations of the Nabob. It is a matter that requires the utmoſt delicacy, and as ſuch we have recommended it to the Colonel: who, we are perſuaded, will take every precaution in effecting it, ſhould it become neceſſary.

The next and moſt important meaſure adopted, was the appointment of a deputation to proceed to Allahabad, to repreſent to Sujah al Dowlah, in perſon, the ſuſpicions which his late conduct has created; and to endeavour, by a candid inveſtigation of facts and friendly argument, to convince him of the inviolable faith with which we have on our parts adhered to the treaty; and require his reaſons for ſo conſiderable an augmentation of his force, at a time when even the moſt remote danger to his poſſeſſions was not to be apprehended; and that we have taken this method of communicating to him our ſentiments, which we hope will convince him of the ſincerity of our attachment, and our earneſt deſire of continuing the friendſhip which has ſubſiſted ſince the treaty. But if, contrary to our moſt earneſt wiſhes, he ſhould be deaf to every remonſtrance of this nature, the deputation is then empowered to requeſt his majeſty will order the immediate reduction of his force, as a ſtep eſſentially neceſſary for his ſafety and our own, and to acquaint the Vizier that we are determined to enforce an obedience to the orders of his royal maſter; ſince we hold it abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary to prevent any one neighbouring power acquiring ſuch degree of ſtrength or power, as may enable him to diſturb the general tranquility of the empire. This meaſure will not, however, be purſued, until every perſuaſive argument is become of no effect.

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* 125,000 *l.*

The more effectually to succeed in our negociations when the rainy ſeaſon ſhall be paſt, we intend to direct the ſecond brigade to march to the Caramnaſſa. We are of opinion that when the Nabob perceives our fixed determination to bring this matter to an iſſue, it will make him reflect ſeriouſly on the impropriety, not to ſay folly, of his conduct.

The Preſident moſt readily tendered his ſervices on this occaſion, notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health for ſome time paſt; but the Select Committee not deeming it neceſſary to put him to the inconvenience of undertaking ſo long a journey, appointed Mr. Cartier and Colonel Smith two members of the deputation, and applied to the Council for the nomination of Mr. Ruſſel as a third; for there being only three remaining members of the Select Committee (the number you have directed conſtantly to be on the ſpot to tranſact the buſineſs of this department) another member from our Board could not with propriety be ſent. Thoſe three gentlemen will accordingly proceed up the country as ſoon as the Valentine's diſpatches ſhall be cloſed. The inſtructions with which they are furniſhed will plainly evince our earneſt deſire of preſerving the peace inviolate, and to accommodate matters with the Vizier on the moſt friendly terms; and we are perſuaded that the gentlemen, to whom we entruſt this important negociation, will exert their zealous endeavours to accompliſh the wiſhes of your Select Committee, and to fix the general tranquility on a permanent baſis.

Be aſſured, gentlemen, it is with the utmoſt reluctance that we find ourſelves reduced to the neceſſity of making hoſtile preparations againſt any power of Hindoſtan; but more particularly againſt a prince, whoſe attachment and fidelity to our cauſe we have attempted to engage by every friendly office in our power. The ſecurity of your territorial poſſeſſions call aloud for theſe meaſures; and we ſhould be wanting in duty and fidelity to the valuable truſt repoſed in us, if we remained inattentive, whilſt ſo reſpectable a power is daily increaſing. Our reſolutions upon this important point have not been the work of an hour, they have reſulted from repeated and mature deliberations. To them, therefore, as they ſtand recorded upon the face of our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you; and we hope the meaſures deemed neceſſary to be purſued will have the honour of your approbation.

From the abovementioned circumſtances you will no doubt perceive the impracticability of removing the third brigade from its ſtation at Allahabad, which has continued there at the particular requiſition of the King and Sujah al Dowlah. We muſt, on this occaſion, expreſs our great aſtoniſhment at the poſitive orders you have lately ſent us, for withdrawing that brigade, under pain of being rendered reſponſible for all the conſequences which may enſue from its continuance. Such an abſolute reſtriction, without permitting us upon the ſpot to judge how far from time and circumſtances ſuch a meaſure may be purſued, muſt, we apprehend, on ſome future occaſion be productive of the utmoſt evil conſequence to your affairs. In the preſent caſe for inſtance, did we not regard your intereſts above every other conſideration, you might poſſibly, by an immediate execution of your orders, be reduced, in the ſpace of a few weeks, from the moſt flouriſhing ſituation to the loweſt diſtreſs. Sujah al Dowlah would then have the King at his mercy, and might obtain that right to your poſſeſſions, by which you now hold them. He would then have no curb on his ambition; and being thus left at large to purſue his hoſtile intentions, might, with eaſe, enter theſe provinces with a numerous body of cavalry, harraſs your troops, without putting it in their power to bring him to an action; and deſtroy thoſe very countries from which you receive ſuch immenſe revenues; but as our army is now ſtationed, the third brigade is a check on all our neighbours, and more particularly on the Vizier.

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We are alſo concerned to find that our reſolution, on the approach of Abdalla, to raiſe a body of Mogul horſe, does not meet with your approbation. We came to this reſolution in conſequence of Colonel Smith's repreſentations of the abſolute neceſſity of entertaining a corps of cavalry, ſhould there be a proſpect of real ſervice. We judged it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to give the Colonel this power; at the ſame time we ſtrongly recommended to him not to make levies, unleſs the ſituation of affairs ſhould abſolutely require it. You will find that our recommendation had all the effect we could deſire; ſince on the rumour of Abdalla's return, the ſervice did not require that you ſhould incur the leaſt unneceſſary expence, nor was a ſingle horſeman entertained.

But we are obliged to enlarge on this ſubject from the preſent ſituation of your affairs. It never will be our intention, in any caſe whatſoever, to raiſe a body of horſe ſo numerous as to oppoſe the thouſands of cavalry that may be brought againſt us; but we cannot conceive it would be warrantable to riſk not only the perſons of your commanders in chief, and principal officers of your army, but perhaps ſuch convoys on the fate of which the ſucceſs of our operations might ſolely depend, to the very precarious fidelity of the troops of another power. You have only three hundred horſe in your pay; a number by no means ſufficient for the ordinary guards and patroles of the camp. Without cavalry it would be impoſſible for your officers to conduct their operations; ſince they could not at any time reconnoitre the enemy's ſituation, without marching a large corps of infantry for a covering party; and making this a common practice, would harraſs your army beyond meaſure. The ſecuring of convoys is a point of too much importance to truſt to any other troops than thoſe in your own pay. In ſhort, it ſeems the opinion of all the principal officers of the army, that in time of ſervice a ſmall body of cavalry is indiſpenſibly neceſſary. However, you may reſt perfectly aſſured, that on this, as well as all your other orders, we ſhall never depart from the ſyſtem you have preſcribed, unleſs the ſervice ſhould abſolutely require it; and then we ſhall obſerve the greateſt œconomy.

Colonel Barker informs us that Abdalla is making preparations for marching again towards Hindoſtan. That he left Cabôol in May laſt, and joined his army, which had taken the field; and that a part of it, reinforced by the neighbouring powers, is marching towards Caſhmêer, Multân, and Lahôre; but we do not find this intelligence confirmed by later advices.

Jewhar Sing, the chief of the Jauts, was aſſaſſinated on July laſt, by an unknown hand. We do not hear that his death has cauſed any great commotions, his brother, Row Rutten Sing, having ſucceeded him without oppoſition; and has wrote to our Preſident, expreſſing his hopes of the continuance of that friendſhip towards him, as ſubſiſted with his predeceſſor. The Nabob Sujah al Dowlah is preparing to march his army to the aſſiſtance of Achmed Cawn Bungiſh, one of the Rohilla chiefs, as he intimates, at his particular requiſition.

By letters from the ſecret department at Fort St. George, we obſerve they are purſuing with vigour their operations againſt Hyder Ally. The main body of their army, joined by a detachment of Colonel Campbell, are encamped within twenty-five miles of Bengulou; a ſtrong fortreſs, on which the rebel places great dependence, having ſubdued the ſeveral forts laying between their army and their own garriſons. Hyder Ally is alſo encamped near that place with his whole force, conſiſting of eleven thouſand cavalry and infantry, and determined it ſeems to defend it to the laſt extremity. The ſiege we doubt not is e'er now commenced; and as the extirpation of Hyder Ally will greatly depend on the ſucceſs of your arms in that enterprize, we ſhall remain in a ſtate of anxiety, waiting for the iſſue.

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The great number of cannon and ſtores they have acquainted us is neceſſary to enable them to carry on the ſiege, has induced us to reſolve on ſending them a ſupply of ſhot by the firſt conveyance which offers for the Coaſt; and as they ſtill continue to repreſent to us their urgent occaſions for money, we ſhall alſo embrace the ſame opportunity to ſend them as ample a ſupply as the ſtate of our treaſury will admit of.

The detachment under Colonel Peach in the Deccan has been lately employed againſt Narraindoo, and the other refractory Zemindars of the Chicacole Sircar. He has poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort belonging to the former, which was evacuated on his making a practicable breach; and he, with his ſcattered army, is retired to his ſtrong holds among the mountains. The Colonel is at preſent at Kimedy; and the gentlemen at Madraſs, upon a rumour of Nizam Ally's diſaffection to their cauſe, have thought it neceſſary to keep that detachment, either to remain as a check over the rebellious conduct of the Zemindars, or for the preſervation of the Sircars, ſhould the Subah attempt any hoſtile meaſures againſt them.

The Preſident and Council at Bombay, at the requeſt of the Madraſs Preſidency, fitted out an armament, conſiſting of three ſhips, many ſmall veſſels and boats, with five hundred Europeans, and eight hundred Sepoys, againſt Hyder Ally's poſſeſſions on the Malabar coaſt, which they reduced on the firſt of March, together with the greateſt part of his fleet. The rapid ſucceſſes of this armament would have been attended with the greateſt conſequences, in ſupport of the meaſures purſued by your army on the Coaſt, had they been permanent. But the return of Major Gowin and Mr. Watſon to Bombay ſoon after, with a principal part of their marine force and ſome Europeans, on account of the approaching rainy ſeaſon, encouraged Hyder Ally to march a great part of his forces to Mangalore in perſon, with which he threatened the re-capture of this important ſettlement. The major part of the garriſon, tho' conſiderable in ſtrength, ſtruck with a panic at his approach, inſtead of making reſiſtance as ſoldiers, moſt ſcandalouſly abandoned their poſt, and retired to Tillicherry, and the remainder ſuffered themſelves to be taken priſoners in the fort, with all their ammunition and warlike ſtores. Thus was the Myſorean reſtored on a ſudden to thoſe valuable poſſeſſions, which the loſs of muſt have greatly diſconcerted him in his military operations on the Coaſt. An event highly favourable to his cauſe, as the neighbouring powers may poſſibly be impreſſed with an idea of his ſuperior ſkill and courage, and will hardly now be prevailed upon to join our arms againſt him.

Their defeat, and the loſſes incurred by that expedition, have reduced the garriſon at Bombay ſo very conſiderably, as to diſable them from attempting a ſecond enterprize, unleſs reinforced from your other ſettlements. They have repreſented this matter very fully to the Preſidency at Madraſs, and requeſted of them to apply to us for aſſiſtance, ſhould they be unable to afford them any from thence. On any ſuch application being made to us, we ſhall readily grant them every aſſiſtance that will be compatible with our own ſituation.

The Preſident and Council having determined on not returning the ſhip Admiral Watſon to Europe, we thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend her round to Bombay, whither ſhe will prove an additional force to their marine, ſhould they attempt a ſecond enterprize againſt Hyder Ally, and if not wanted for ſuch ſervice, ſhe might either be diſpoſed of there to equal advantage as at this port, or ſent round to Madraſs with a cargo of cotton, to aſſiſt that Preſidency in the remittances for their China inveſtment. For this purpoſe we recommended to the Council their ordering the neceſſary repairs to be made to her, and ſhe is now under diſpatch.

The French at Chandernagore having of late taken up large sums of money in silver specie, and transmitted the same to Pondicherry, we were apprehensive that such a proceeding must be productive of dangerous consequences to this country, unless a stop was put to it in future, and therefore recommended to the ministers of the government to prohibit all exportation of silver from these provinces, and to impose such penalty on disobedience as they might think proper. And it being also necessary to represent to his majesty the many evils arising from the very small quantity of silver imported for some time past by the French, Dutch, and other European nations into his dominions, we earnestly entreated him to send such orders on this subject, to the Subah-dar of these provinces, as he might judge most expedient for the ease and happiness of his subjects.

We have kept in remembrance the orders you were pleased to send to the President and Council, for transmitting to you such intelligence as they may be able to obtain of the French nation at the islands. We are seeking an intelligent person to send thither, under a pretence which may give the least cause for suspicion of our designs; and from thence to proceed to England, in order to communicate to you the discoveries he may have made. Many difficulties occur to us in the prosecution of such a scheme, but none greater than the fixing upon a proper person for the occasion; if we succeed in that, you may be assured of our readiness to carry your orders into execution.

When we consider the very large sums of money with which the French agents at Chandernagore have already been supplied from Calcutta, for bills granted on their Company in France; the draughts made this season on individuals at this settlement, to the amount of * thirty lacks of rupees, payable to the Council at Chandernagore, and others on Madrass for † ten lacks, payable to their agents at Pondicherry; we are very strongly induced to suspect they are reserving a fund in India for some future occasion, it being well known, they are already amply supplied for carrying on their investments of this year.

We are also apprised of ten ships being destined from France this season, seven of which the French intimate are to be sold, and to remain in India. That they have already about four thousand of his most Christian majesty's troops at the islands; and it cannot admit a doubt but that many of those vessels are taken up for the transportation of a further number. So alarming a force, at a place from whence it is difficult to procure the least information of their designs, has induced us to have a vigilant eye over our fortifications, which have been almost intirely put a stop to, from the want of artificers and materials; we have recommended to the Council to prohibit all private buildings and repairs being carried on in Calcutta, or its environs, after the first of November next, in order that no future impediments may be met with in putting the new fort in a posture of defence as expeditiously as possible.

It requires no great depth of judgment to forsee, that the assembling such a number of forces at the French islands, can bode no good to your settlements in India. Nor are we without our apprehensions, that whenever the French are in a condition to cope with our nation in Europe, they will make some attempt in India; and even this may happen, previous to a declaration of war. And as from the situation of the islands, they are sole masters of their own time of operations; it is more than probable, that the first intelligence of their intention will be the appearance of a French fleet in Ballasore road.

As we judged it most advantageous to have gun carriages, as well as all wood and iron work required for the service of the new fort, constructed by contract; we received proposals from three substantial persons residing in Calcutta, and deeming reasonable

* 375,000 *l.* † 125,000 *l.*

fonable the terms they offered, we directed the Committee of works to enter into contracts with them accordingly; and we shall be careful to have this work inspected, that it may be executed in the strongest and best manner. The expence of materials will be thereby reduced to a degree of certainty, and we hope greatly diminished.

It is with great concern we acquaint you, that differences of opinion have arisen between the President and Colonel Smith; but as they are in general of such a nature as fall more particularly under your cognizance, and stand fully recorded upon our proceedings, we beg leave to refer them to your decision.

The Colonel, upon his resuming his seat at our Board, expressed his astonishment at a minute delivered in by the President, on the 10th February last, wherein he stood accused of having counteracted the measures pursued by the President in the course of his country correspondence, and perceived that the same had been transmitted to you without his previous knowledge. The assurances he then gave us of his ignorance of the transaction, which gave cause for such an accusation, was so entirely satisfactory to us, that we not only condemn the false and ill-natured representation of Munneer al Dowlah to the President on this occasion, but are under much concern lest our opinions thereupon, which were transmitted to you by the Admiral Pococke, should induce you to entertain sentiments unfavourable to the Colonel; and it is with pleasure we embrace this early opportunity to assure you, that so far from entertaining such an idea to his prejudice, we can with the utmost confidence affirm, that he has convinced us of his earnest desire to co-operate with us, in any transaction that may redound to your honour and interest.

We hope, and have reason to flatter ourselves, that, in future, deliberations will be conducted with that harmony so desirable to ourselves as individuals, and so highly essential for the well governing of your affairs.

Colonel Smith having expressed his strong desire of returning to Europe by one of the early ships of this season, we represented to him, that his presence was necessary until the issue of our negotiations with Sujah al Dowlah was known. On this representation he chearfully assented to proceed up the country as one of the members of the deputation. But as he has requested you should be informed of his intention to resign his commission as soon as your affairs will permit, we deemed it necessary to give you this information, and at the same time take the liberty of recommending, in the strongest manner, Colonel Sir Robert Barker to your favour; and we hope that so many years distinguished services, his general good character, his abilities as an officer, and his attachment to your service, will induce you to confirm him in the appointment of the command of your forces, after Colonel Smith's departure.

We have, as yet, received no more than seven hundred recruits this season from Europe, of the number destined for this settlement, notwithstanding all your Coast-and-Bay ships are safely imported. We must suppose that the remainder are on the Bombay ships which you have ordered to touch at Madrass, and have therefore requested of the gentlemen there to forward them to us by the first opportunities after their arrival; as, without them, it will be impossible to form your military establishment in the manner you have been pleased to direct.

You will perceive, by the treasury account transmitted to you by this conveyance from the President and Council, that it is entirely out of our power to comply with your discretional orders for sending five hundred thousand pounds in specie to Europe by the ships of this season. To the great supplies we have furnished your Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, your supercargoes at Canton, and to the considerable increase of your investment here, must be imputed the very low state of your treasury. Experience confirms us in the sentiments we have repeatedly expressed to you concerning the exportation of bullion from those provinces, and it becomes a matter

of still more important consideration, as foreign nations, who were accustomed to import such large quantities of bullion for the purchase of their cargoes for Europe, are no longer under that necessity; since by bills from, and by draughts on Europe, they obtain an ample sufficiency for all their occasions. And here we cannot but remark, that the very great reduction you have been pleased to make in the rate of exchange, will undoubtedly contribute to the prolongation of this evil.

We have the honour to transmit you a number in this packet, a translation of the account collections in the province of Midnapore and Jellasore, in conformity to your former directions, attested by the Mayor; together with a return of the army; the country correspondence; and the broken setts of our proceedings and letters, received and sent since the last dispatch, for your particular information; and have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with great respect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. SMITH, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

P. S. Colonel Smith signs the foregoing letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors, with this reservation, that he does not intend thereby to contradict any opinion that he has already entered on record.

No. XVII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

Hon. Sirs, Fort William, November 21, 1768.

No material occurrences have happened in your affairs here since the dispatch of the Valentine, when we had the honour to address you under date the 13th Sept. last; duplicate and triplicate thereof now wait on you by the ships Verelst and Kent.

Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Russel, set out for Allahabad, on the business of the deputation, soon after the departure of the Valentine; and we hope are ere now arrived, having left Patna the 7th instant.

The important trust reposed in them has made them desirous of acquiring, during the course of their journey, every possible information of the state of affairs above; and the same motive has urged us to give them from time to time our unreserved sentiments on such further measures as appeared to us necessary for them to pursue; leaving to them, however, upon the spot, the power of carrying them into execution, or otherwise, as they may judge most conducive to the good of your service. When we considered that the principal difficulty they may probably encounter will be in persuading the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to a reduction of his force; we recommended to those gentlemen to consent to the Nabob's retaining troops to the number of ten thousand infantry, and ten or twelve thousand cavalry. From this force we can have nothing to apprehend; and we think it will be sufficient to enable him to preserve that respect from the neighbouring powers, which he has hitherto maintained. To a man of his ambitious and vain-glorious disposition, there cannot be a greater disgrace, than the public knowledge of such a reduction must necessarily occasion. We have therefore signified to the deputies that we think so mortifying a circumstance may be evaded, by their prevailing on him to make a tender

of

of the remainder of his troops as recruits to your brigades. Such a measure would prevent the general odium he must otherwise incur from the several powers of Hindostan, and, instead of it, must convince them of his steady attachment to your interests.

We flatter ourselves, that matters will be amicably settled with the Nabob, as it must evidently tend to your interest to preserve an alliance with a person of his high station and power in the empire. Nothing has been omitted on our parts to induce him to participate of your friendship; but time alone will shew how far a confidence may in future be placed in him.

We have, on many occasions, most earnestly solicited you to send abroad the best recruits you could procure for your military establishments, so much depending thereon, that it is the most essential point of security to your possessions. We therefore take the liberty of offering it as our opinion, that your recruiting service can only be properly conducted by officers of integrity and experience appointed for that purpose in England; who, sensible of the important services they may render to the Company by an attentive discharge of their duty, would chearfully embrace the opportunity of recommending themselves to your favour, by providing good and able-bodied young men, who would be of real service to your armies abroad; and the very heavy expences annually incurred by you on this occasion, would no longer be ill bestowed. It is with concern we inform you, that Colonel Smith hath reported your recruits of this season, in general, to be very indifferent. Of those already arrived, there are barely sufficient to form two of your regiments, agreeably to the regulations you have been pleased to prescribe; and they are appointed to complete, as nearly as possible, the second and third brigades.

A division of the first brigade remains at Mongheer; and another, under the command of Colonel Joseph Peach, is still in the Deccan; from whence the gentlemen at Madrass have given us hopes they will be speedily returned to us.

It is with much concern we observe, that the Secret department at Fort St. George still labour under great inconveniencies from the want of money to enable them to pursue their operations with that vigour which they deem essentially necessary for the reduction of Hyder Ally. They were even apprehensive of being driven to the necessity of appropriating to that use one hundred and eighty thousand rupees * of the sum then lying in their treasury for the China investment.

As our treasury was at that time replenished by gold mohurs of the late currency, which the President and Council had thought proper to recall therein, we shipped on board the Admiral Watson and the Plassey schooner to the amount of eight lacks † of rupees for that Presidency. This, with three lacks ‡ we sent in the snow Asia, which was drove by stress of weather into Pegu, we hope, will prove a seasonable supply. We also sent them, by the Admiral Watson, five thousand eighteen, and three thousand twenty-four-pounder shot, and should at the same time have supplied them with the article of gun-powder, which they have since requested, had we known they had wanted it before that ship's departure. We then proposed to send them two hundred barrels in the Plassey schooner; but on consulting with our Master-attendant, it was judged that the season was too far advanced to admit of her being detained on that account.

They have detained at Madrass Mr. Lewis Smith, a cadet arrived there this season in the Dutton, and destined for Bengal, as he was judged capable of rendering them service in the engineering branch. The gentlemen inform us that it is their intention to request you will be pleased to fix him upon that establishment; and we take the liberty

* 22,500 *l.* † 100,000 *l.* ‡ 37,500 *l.*

liberty of recommending him to you for that purpose, as you have so handsomely provided us with officers in that corps.

Such of the recruits destined for Bengal as have been landed at Madrass, are stopped there for the immediate service of that Presidency. As those gentlemen alone can judge how far the exigency of their affairs required their taking a measure so contrary to your intentions, we could do no more than represent to them, that the number we received was insufficient for the purposes you intended them; and to request they would send round to us the remainder as soon as they could be spared.

We cannot, in justice to you, our honourable employers, and to every individual residing under your government in Bengal, avoid representing once more to you the extreme distress which this country is unhappily reduced to from a want of silver specie. It is almost beyond conception, and with difficulty will be credited but by those who experience the ill effects it daily produces. The day is at length arrived which we so early foresaw, and has brought with it that load of inconveniencies which we have repeatedly apprized you of. This settlement, for some months past, has, in fact, been in a state of bankruptcy. Trade is totally put a stop to; and even the most reputable of your servants can with difficulty procure silver sufficient for the payment of their servant's wages. To these evils is added another, the more serious, as it precludes even the most distant prospect of the re-circulation of money; we mean the very considerable draughts which have, this season, been made on individuals from Europe, in favour of the French government at Chandernagore, and of which we had the honour to advise you in our last address. There is now in Calcutta a servant of the French Company, with those very bills which are nearly all become payable, receiving on that account every rupee which can possibly be amassed by individuals, and sending it to that settlement. He has orders from his superiors to accept of no Company's bonds in part of payment, by which it is apparent, that their intention is to take every advantage of our distress.

Permit us also to refer you to the present state of your treasury. You will thereby perceive a total inability to discharge many sums, which you are indebted to individuals for deposits in your cash, as well as to issue any part of the considerable advances required for the service of every public department. We need not then observe the apparent danger which threatens your investment for the ensuing season, neither the favourable prospects of our rivals the French, who, by having so early a command of money, must necessarily be enabled to make the more early advances.

The Dutch, unwilling to trust to the precarious resources of an exhausting country, have, since our last advices, very judiciously imported some bullion to Bengal; and though the sum may not exceed three lacks *, yet it is of the greatest utility to the forwarding their investment.

You may be convinced, that the value of your territorial acquisitions have not been decreasing, since the collections are now greater than they ever have been since your investiture of the Dewanny. But be assured, that the benefits arising from them must be of short duration, whilst a scarcity of specie prevails as at present, and is daily exhausting. You must expect, unless the evil is speedily removed, to collect your revenues in the commodities produced in the country, without having a prospect of vending them at any rate, as the merchants will be totally deprived of the means to purchase them.

This, gentlemen, is the present distressful and real situation of the country; and, we flatter ourselves, that, by taking a comparative view of our distant prospects with the politic advantages reaped by the foreign nations trading here, who grasped at all private

* 37,500 l.

private monies from individuals, you will no longer deem us reprehensible, if a decrease in the amount of your future investments, and a debasement of their quality should prove the consequence, since you must be sensible, that early advances alone can in this country insure the one and the other. The heavy payments of your revenue are not made till late in the season; and, unless we have a year's advance in your treasury, no advantage can be taken in its provision.

Excuse us, therefore, if we think it a duty indispensible in us, to exhort you, in the strongest manner, to pursue such measures as may oblige foreign nations to import bullion into this sinking country.

We have been the more explicit on this subject, in order to evince the impossibility of the Council's sending any silver this season for the use of the China investment; for, what with the further demands we must expect will be made on us from the Secret department at Fort St. George, those now upon us to a very great amount, the providing of so considerable an investment, and the unavoidable expences of this Presidency, we are very apprehensive that little or no money will remain in your treasury, for some time at least, to answer any emergency.

We have directed Mr. Sykes to send us down a supply from the City with all possible expedition, and he gives us hopes of receiving six lacks of rupees * in a few days. That gentleman having requested our permission to resign his post at the Durbar, by reason of his ill state of health, and to return to his duty at the Presidency, we have referred his request to the President and Council, for their nomination of a successor.

We have the honour to transmit you the broken set of our proceedings, and letters received and sent, since the last dispatch, as per accompanying list of packet, and to subscribe ourselves, with the utmost respect, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XVIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, January 6, 1769.

We had the honour to address your last, under date the 21st November, in two copies by the ships Verelst and Kent, a duplicate whereof now waits on you by the Queen.

It is with great pleasure we embrace the opportunity which the present conveyance affords us, to inform you that our deputies to his majesty and the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah have hitherto met with every desired success in the course of their negociations. His excellency gave them the meeting at Benâres, where many days passed in conference, on the subject of the late jealousies subsisting between us, which at length happily terminated in the conclusion of a new treaty with him, on the 28th of November. The steady measures adopted and pursued in thus bringing the Nabob to an explanation, have not a little contributed to his ready acquiescence to the most essential parts of our just pretensions; and the tender regard which the gentlemen of the deputation have shewn for his honour in the reduction of his forces, at the same time

* 75,000 *l.*

time that they have consulted the future security of these provinces, we flatter ourselves, will meet with that approbation from you which we have testified to them on that occasion. By the stipulated reduction of the Nabob's troops, he is still permitted to retain a number which will render him respectable among the powers of Hindostan, though in no degree sufficiently formidable to trouble the repose of these provinces. This, we may hope, will rather be productive of a confidential regard on our part, than create in us future suspicions of the Nabob's ambitious views, since it admits not a doubt, that he can now form no projections but what we shall have in our power to controul.

The President has been informed, that the Nabob accompanied the deputies to Allahabad, and was received in the royal presence in quality of Vizier, with every mark of distinction due to his station in the empire, and afterwards returned to his dominions, with his majesty's permission to return to Allahabad at the approaching festival of the Mohamedans. We hope this will tend to conciliate the long differences which have subsisted between them on the subject of the Vizarut.

When we considered the very peremptory orders you were pleased to send us, for confining solely our views within these provinces, though sensible how impolitic an immediate obedience to your commands, and how far they must at present be from answering the salutary purpose of a solid and permanent security to your valuable possessions; yet we were desirous of embracing the opportunity of our deputies being so near the royal presence, to make such an attempt towards the execution of your orders as appeared to us most likely to effect your purpose; and we have therefore recommended to their consideration, how far his majesty's giving up Korah to Sujah al Dowlah, in exchange for the Sircars of Ghazipore and Benâres, and the Nabob's ceding to him the fortress of Chunar, may be suitable to one and the other.

From the temper of mind and situation of Sujah al Dowlah, we flatter ourselves, he will be inclinable to cultivate our friendship, and no longer prove refractory or deaf to our remonstrances, and his majesty not less attentive to our advice. The situation of the present royal domains, lies too much within the country of Sujah al Dowlah; insomuch, that should we even come to an open rupture with him, to support his majesty as allies to the throne, we must march through an enemy's country, and thereby subject our troops to many very apparent inconveniencies. The present annual revenues of Korah, exceed those of Ghazipore and Benâres, six or seven lacks * of rupees; this may prove a temptation to Sujah al Dowlah, particularly if he considers how very compact his territories will from hence become.

The Nabob has frequently, since he ceded the fort of Allahabad to his majesty, complained of the want of some place for the security of his family, and a capital for himself. The King's restoring that fortress, may be a strong inducement to the Nabob to embrace this proposal, and to give up Chunar in exchange, which will be a strong barrier to us when in possession of his majesty. The Pergunnah, at present possessed by the Bundel-cund Rajah, may be appropriated for his Majesty's use, to make good the difference between his present possessions and those of Bulwant Sing, provided they are not thought to be at too great a distance for his purpose; if that should be the case, Tarrâr, or some lands contiguous to Bulwant Sing's country, may then be asked for from Sujah al Dowlah, as a compensation for the territories ceded by his Majesty.

If such a scheme can be effected, our troops may be withdrawn into these provinces; the King may possibly follow them, and thereby will be saved, not only the annual drain of treasure for the payment of the tribute, and the subsistence of your troops, which has, with other demands, nearly exhausted the wealth of this country, and reduced us to the greatest distress; but the currency of silver specie will be increased

* 75,000 *l.* or 87,500 *l.*

creased, by an importation of the sums collected from the revenues of Ghazipore, &c. countries, as well as those arising from every emolument the throne may enjoy. Should any future hostile preparations be made against his majesty's arms, we may then the more easily unite our forces against our common enemy, as the proximity of his majesty's possessions would be a second barrier to our arms, and with double security for them, from all the inconveniencies of war.

It is probable from superstitious motives, that his Majesty may be induced to think this a disgrace, as it carries with it the appearance of a retreat from his capital, his long favourite object. But to this we might represent his more immediate security by a junction with us; the imaginary prospect of our marching at some future time, with accumulated treasures and force in his support; the ideas which such an union must create in the courts of Hindostan, and the necessity we are under from the positive injunctions we have received of recalling the third brigade from Allahabad.

Another objection may be made to this plan by his majesty, setting forth the impropriety or dishonour of exchanging his present royal possessions for those of a Zemindarry, guarantied by us, whose rents cannot be increased, and where no Jagheers can be granted. To this may be represented the annexed Pergunnahs, at present possessed by the Hindaput Rajah, or such lands as may be farther granted him; which, protected by us, will enable him to bestow rewards on those whom he may chuse to honour with a provision; and the more ready and immediate payment of the rents from Bulwant Sing, will enable him more honourably to support his army, than he now does by his present mode of payment. We have communicated the foregoing observations to the deputies at Allahabad, and have desired they may be regarded more as hints, than bearing a tendency to any digested plans, and we hope soon to receive their opinion on them; for it must be from the lights we may obtain from them, that we shall form a judgment of the practicability of those measures.

The present distressful state of this country, proceeding from the scarcity of silver, has induced us to direct those gentlemen to issue their orders for receiving all sums which may be procured in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, for defraying the expences of the third brigade stationed there, and that the paymaster do grant bills for such sums received on the military paymaster-general in Calcutta as usual, at five days sight. And it has been also recommended to them to prevail on his majesty to accept gold mohurs of the late currency, in part payment of the tribute, at a reasonable exchange, for which purpose we have sent them some coined at the mints of Calcutta and Murshed-abad, in order that this matter might be more easily adjusted.

In our letter under date the 29th February last, we informed you, that we had transmitted to Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, some proposals for a treaty of peace, and the cession of Orissa. We have lately received his reply to them, and although his demands appear too high for us to accede to, yet we are assured by his Vackeel, that he will very cheerfully acquiesce in every reasonable demand we can make, being desirous of putting an end to a negociation which has been so long depending. We have therefore taken the subject a second time into our most serious consideration, and have finally resolved on such proposals being made to that potentate, as we deem most consistent with your honour, and the future security of your valuable possessions, as well in Bengal, as on the Coast of Coromandel. Our deliberations were, in consequence of your late orders, submitted to the consideration of the President and Council, and having been by them approved, articles of a treaty are now drawing out, in order to be executed on the part of the Nabob and of the English Company. For further particulars relative thereto, permit us to refer you to our proceedings, which wait on you by this conveyance; having only on this occasion to assure you, that we have paid a strict attention to those orders wherein you

direct that no treaty be entered into, but with the principal power; and that Janoojee is the only person with whom we can with propriety enter into a treaty, cannot be doubted, since the treaty for the payment of the Chout was first entered into by Alliverdy Cawn with his father Ragoojee, and was on his death confirmed by Janoojee alone.

At the time we were deliberating on the terms proposed by Janoojee, we received advices from the secret department at Fort St. George, relative to the operations of the war against Hyder Ally, and expressing their apprehensions of Mahadavarow's marching into the Carnatic to his assistance; which circumstance is corroborated by advices lately transmitted to them from Mr. Broome, Resident at the Maharatta court at Poonah. This situation appears to us so critical, that to ensure a lasting peace and tranquility on the Coast of Coromandel, we were of opinion, the utmost efforts of this Committee should be exerted, in support of the present war against Hyder Ally, and that every means should be made use of to prevent his increase of power, by a junction with the Maharattas; a junction which would not only render the event of the war dubious, but would likewise deprive the Company of the revenues they now collect from the Carnatic, and oblige us to drain this exhausted country of still greater supplies of treasure; which must in such case be consumed in the course of a long and tedious war, instead of being applied to the purposes of your several investments in India.

From the late conduct of Hyder Ally, we cannot see a prospect of the gentlemen at Madrass being able to conclude a peace with him upon honourable terms, or which can promise to be secure and permanent. For, in the present situation of affairs, should the war be put an end to, Hyder would be left more formidable than he was at the commencement of it. His credit would be exalted in all the courts of Hindostan, from his having singly withstood the utmost efforts of the English arms on the Coast; and the fame of our's would consequently be diminished by their receding from the contest, after so long and obstinate a struggle; and nothing less could be expected than a recommencement of troubles on the part of Hyder Ally, as soon as he had recruited his forces, and brought the Maharattas and Nizam Ally to unite their forces to his. Such an event might be productive of the most dangerous consequences to your affairs: for Hyder, politic of discerning, would be cautious to avoid any oversights or errors he may have committed in the course of the present war; he would, no doubt, be active in improving the discipline of his troops; and, actuated by a spirit of revenge, and sensible also that the security of his own possessions could only be insured by our ruin, no efforts which policy or courage might suggest, or which ambition or despair might inspire, would be wanting on the part of that potentate.

A still more cogent reason bids us beware of his growing power. By advices from Madrass, under date the 31st August, it appears, that the gentlemen there entertained strong suspicions that the French at Pondicherry, were carrying on intrigues at his court, and that they had promised him assistance from Europe, or the island of Mauritius; and when we reflect on the grand preparations of that nation at the latter place, the number of its forces there, and the increase of its shipping in India, it is most probable that the French may join Hyder Ally, should this opportunity of subduing him be lost. Such a circumstance, added to those already mentioned, might involve your affairs in India even beyond a possibility of retrieving them.

However desirous the gentlemen at Madrass may be to put an end to so destructive and expensive a war, we apprehend they have not within themselves those resources requisite for effecting it, without hazarding your possessions at some future time. We are therefore the more readily induced to come to an immediate conclusion, if possible,

ſible; of a treaty offenſive and defenſive with Janoojee, obſerving, as a baſis, the ceſſion of Oriſſa. His well known jealouſy of and differences with Mahadavarow, (againſt whom he is endeavouring to ſupport an independency) muſt ſecure him moſt effectually in your intereſt. A treaty thus concluded, will cauſe a diviſion of the Maharatta power, a dimunition of their territorial poſſeſſions, and conſequently of their natural ſtrength; and the friendſhip of Janoojee ſecured by the annual payment of a ſtipulated ſum, his poſſeſſions will become a barrier to theſe provinces, againſt the incurſions of other internal weſtern powers, without ſubjecting us to the neceſſity of applying for their forces as auxiliaries, and thereby expoſing your poſſeſſions a prey to their rapacity. And further, it cannot be doubted but ſuch a treaty will ſow diſſenſions among the Maharatta chiefs, and may thereby occaſion ſuch a mutual decreaſe of their ſtrength, as may bring them to a level with, if not in ſubjection to, ſome of the other powers of Hindoſtan, which will leave your extenſive territories in a perfect ſtate of repoſe and ſecurity.

The nominal authority of the King, the power of his Vizier, and that part of our forces now ſtationed at Allahabad, may, if your affairs on the Coaſt ſhould require it, be effectually interpoſed; as the bare report of ſuch a junction, aided by the feint of a march towards the territories of Mahadavarow, which lay open, and muſt be expoſed to us, ſhould he march to Hyder's aſſiſtance, may not only deter him from accepting his offers, but may induce him to conſult the immediate ſafety of his own poſſeſſions through our friendſhip. The force of Janoojee, who has lately ſolicited the King's Sunnuds for ſuch lands as he may conquer from Mahadavarow, joined or ſeconded by the detachment under the command of Colonel Peach, in the Deccan, may be uſefully employed, ſhould Mahadavarow take the part of Hyder Ally; or ſhould the Subah wantonly and weakly engage in new enterprizes againſt the tranquility of the Carnatic: ſo formidable and unexpected a junction in this quarter, muſt ſoon compel Hyder to terms of accommodation, if not ſubject his territories to certain ruin.

The ſtrongeſt motives for our having adopted theſe ſentiments, are the deprivation of Hyder's hopes and our fears, of his effecting a junction with the French, Nizam Ally, and Mahadavarow; by which ſtep the influence you at preſent poſſeſs in the cabinets of all the powers of Hindoſtan, would moſt probably revolt to our natural European rival, and the conſequences of ſuch an evil are too apparent to require elucidation.

It is therefore our unanimous opinion, founded upon the moſt mature deliberation, that a fortunate iſſue to a treaty with Janoojee, would be productive of the advantages we have herein pointed out, and moſt probably of ſpeedy conceſſions from Hyder Ally, upon ſuch terms as the gentlemen at Madraſs may judge neceſſary to impoſe, for the future ſafety and tranquility of your poſſeſſions, or thoſe of your allies, on the Coaſt of Coromandel; therefore, we have reſolved, that no delays ſhall be occaſioned on our part, to effect a purpoſe which tends ſo evidently to the advantage of your affairs, and which neceſſity alone has compelled us to adopt.

Although we are deſirous to aſſiſt the gentlemen at Madraſs on every occaſion, where your welfare is concerned, yet it is alone the urgent and very critical ſtate of your affairs there, that can poſſibly induce us to deviate from that ſyſtem of policy we have hitherto obſerved, and would gladly continue, of confining our views to your preſent poſſeſſions, and of avoiding all diſtant and extenſive operations, which muſt, in ſome degree, ſubject your acquiſitions to danger, by a diviſion of your force. Such are the ſentiments we communicated to your Preſidency at Fort St. George, when we laid before them the meaſures which appeared to us moſt proper to be purſued

ſued in the preſent ſituation of their affairs; and we requeſted their opinions thereon, before we finally determined on a matter of ſuch importance.

As the moſt minute tranſactions of your Select Committee ſince the departure of the Verelſt and Kent are entered upon the proceedings which we have the honour to tranſmit to you by this conveyance, we beg leave to refer thereto for your further information.

The ſnow Aſia, on which we informed you, in our laſt advices, the Preſident and Council had embarked * three lacks of rupees, for the Preſidency at Fort St. George, is returned hither with her treaſure. Your ſhip Dutton has carried † ſix lacks of rupees, of the late gold currency, to Madraſs, to anſwer their urgent occaſions; which, with the remittances by the Admiral Watſon, and Plaſſey ſchooner, will we hope prove a conſiderable relief to their diſtreſs.

Mr. Sykes has reſigned his ſeat at the Select Committee, and purpoſes, on account of his ill ſtate of health, to take his paſſage to Europe in the Queen. We muſt, in juſtice to that gentleman, expreſs our entire ſatisfaction of his conduct during the time he was employed in the ſtation of reſident at the Durbar, and our concern at the neceſſity which compels him to quit your ſervice.

Mr. Becher, who was appointed by the Preſident and Council to the poſt of reſident at the Durbar, has proceeded to this ſtation.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, F. SYKES, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Feb. 5, 1769.

Nothing material having occurred ſince our laſt advices, under date the 6th ult. a duplicate of which we have the honour to tranſmit to you, we flatter ourſelves will ſufficiently apologize for the conciſeneſs of this addreſs; more particularly as we have omitted no opportunity, during the courſe of this ſeaſon, of making you fully acquainted with every matter of importance which has come under our conſideration.

The reſignation of Mr. Sykes having cauſed a vacant ſeat in your Select Committee, Mr. Alexander was appointed to fill it; and has accordingly taken his ſeat, after having taken the uſual oath of ſecrecy adminiſtered to him.

Mr. Cartier is returned to the Preſidency, and has laid before us the original treaty lately entered into by the deputation with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah; together with a ſeparate agreement written by the Nabob himſelf, wherein he promiſes to reduce his forces to the number ſpecified in the treaty within the ſpace of three months. It is with pleaſure we inform you, that his majeſty expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the treaty, and was graciouſly pleaſed to ratify it with the royal ſign manual.

We ſhould do injuſtice to Meſſrs. Cartier, Smith, and Ruſſel, were we not to expreſs our entire approbation of their conduct during their late deputation; and we doubt not, but you will be pleaſed to regard it in the ſame point of view.

By this conveyance we have the honour to tranſmit to you a complete ſett of our proceedings; and of letters ſent and received for the laſt year.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

* 37,500 *l.* † 75,000 *l.*

No. XX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 4, 1769.

This ſerves only to adviſe you that we embrace the opportunity of the preſent diſpatch to tranſmit you a duplicate of our laſt addreſs by the ſhip Saliſbury, under date the 3d ult. together with the broken ſetts of our proceedings of letters, ſent and received, from the commencement of the year to the date hereof.

By the Shrewſbury, the next and laſt of your ſhips for diſpatch this ſeaſon, we propoſe to addreſs you fully on the ſubject of your affairs entruſted to our management, till when we muſt beg leave to refer you to our proceedings and letters, tranſmitted during the courſe of this ſeaſon.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XXI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, April 6, 1769.

We embrace the opportunity of the Shrewſbury's diſpatch, which is your laſt ſhip for Europe of this ſeaſon, to inform you of ſuch occurrences as were not noticed in our two laſt addreſſes, under dates the 3d February, and 4th ult. and alſo of ſuch material circumſtances as have happened ſince the Talbot's diſpatch.

When the deputies were appointed to proceed to Allahabad, we took into conſideration the great drains of ſilver annually made from theſe provinces for the payment of your troops on that ſtation; which, with many other demands, had nearly exhauſted the wealth of this country. We conſidered alſo, that his majeſty had frequently repreſented to the Preſident, through Munneer al Dowlah, the Naib Vizier, that Rajah Hindaput had long uſurped certain diſtricts in the Bundel-cund country, which formerly compoſed a part of the Subah of Allahabad, and which he was extremely deſirous of re-uniting to the royal domains. The opportunity which then preſented itſelf was deemed favourable for inveſtigating this matter; and we accordingly recommended to the deputies, in our letter of inſtructions, to propoſe to his majeſty our aſſiſting him in the recovery of thoſe diſtricts, on condition that he would appropriate a part of their revenues for defraying all expences of your troops whilſt they remained without the provinces. To this propoſition his majeſty very chearfully acquieſced.

But it appearing from the ſubſequent reſearches of the deputation, that the royal claim could not clearly be eſtabliſhed, we did not chuſe to purſue a plan likely to lead us into diſtant enterprizes, which the ſtricteſt juſtice did not authorize us to undertake; leſt we ſhould thereby run the hazard of involving your affairs at ſome future time into thoſe difficulties we have ever made it our ſtudy to avoid. Colonel Smith has acquainted us with the reſult of his own enquiries into this matter; but deeming

deeming that also insufficient, we have suspended all thoughts of an expedition in that quarter.

We have not a doubt but his majesty will be very solicitous for the recovery of the usurped districts, and will leave no measures unattempted to effect an object so very flattering to his hopes. His visit to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, at the very time he appeared most earnestly intent on this project, gives us cause to suspect, that instead of *mere* compliment, it tended principally to the concerting a plan of operations for some future attempt against the Bundel-cund country. We apprehended that the Vizier, when he found us determined not to grant our assistance to his royal master, would not fail to urge him on the enterprize, by a tender of his forces and assistance; or might perhaps endeavour to obtain his majesty's Sunnuds for such conquests as he himself might make in that country. Certain it was, that the King had no force to enable him to undertake such an enterprize himself; and therefore we could not pretend to say how far his pride or necessity might lead him into errors. When we considered the open and avowed enmity which had so long subsisted between the King and the Vizier, we could not think he would be so regardless of his own personal safety, as to arm a man of Sujah al Dowlah's disposition and boundless ambition, with so great a power of the royal house as an extension of territory must necessarily give him. But still we thought it necessary to guard against such evils, though we did not really apprehend them; and accordingly directed Colonel Smith to assure his majesty, in either of the before-mentioned cases, that we should immediately withdraw all your troops within the provinces; and, if the latter was likely to take place, the Colonel was to acquaint Sujah al Dowlah, that on the march of any part of his forces into the Bundel-cund country, we should regard him as a violater of the general tranquility, and an invader of those countries the throne pretends a claim to.

Colonel Smith thought it expedient to attend his majesty in the visit to Faiz-abad. He was present at the conferences held between the King and his Vizier; which produced the strongest assurances of forgiveness and oblivion of past injuries, on the one part, and of the utmost loyalty and fidelity on the other.

In our letters of the 6th January last, we fully acquainted you with a plan, which then appeared to us practicable, for effecting an exchange of the royal domains, for the countries of Ghazipore and Benâres; and in order to proceed on a matter of such delicacy and importance with all possible circumspection, we communicated our sentiments to the gentlemen of the deputation, and desired them to give us every information they could procure for our guidance. Their opinion stands recorded upon the face of our proceedings; and we readily concurred with them, that whilst the troubles continued on the Coast it would be improper to attempt the execution of such a project.

Though we have reason to think the Nabob-Vizier has not regarded, with the most strict and exact punctuality, the performance of his engagements in the dismission of those troops which exceed the number he has stipulated to keep up, yet we do not find he has raised or added a man to his army since the treaty at Benâres; so that we have not the least doubt, what with casualties and natural deaths, but his army will be reduced, in a short space of time, to the state we wish to see it. The Vizier himself steadily asserts, that he has performed every thing he agreed to do, and claims some merit on the occasion. To charge him openly with dissimulation, when the detection is so difficult, would be imprudent, and equally impolitic, particularly so at a time when he professes the warmest friendship and attachment to us, and no other part of his behaviour contradicts such assurances. Rest assured, honourable Sirs, that although we may not rigidly demand the performance of articles as to a man, yet we shall watch the motions of this ambitious and volatile prince, so as to prevent him

him in future from being dangerous to your poſſeſſions; being more inclined that he ſhould place a confidence in us, by a frankneſs of behaviour, when it can be aſſumed without danger on our ſide, than be deprived of it by a diffident and captious conduct.

The general rumour which has, for ſome time, prevailed of the approach of Shaw Abdalla towards the King's frontiers, has been one of the principal motives which have compelled us to keep the third brigade at Allahabad, both as a check to his operations, and as a ſecurity to the territorial poſſeſſions of his majeſty, and our ally the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah. Colonel Smith, in his advices of the 18th of February, informed us that the Shaw had advanced a part of his army near to Lahôre, and ſeemed determined to purſue his march to Dehly; but by the Colonel's letter to the Governor, under date the 19th ult. which we have juſt received, it is with the utmoſt pleaſure we perceive that Shaw Abdâlla is preparing to retreat, and poſſibly towards his own dominions. A circumſtance ſo very favourable to our determined reſolution of embracing the firſt ſafe opportunity to recall the third brigade within theſe provinces, that we now only await a confirmation of this intelligence to carry into execution the poſitive orders you have ſent us on this ſubject.

It is with the utmoſt confidence we can aſſure you, gentlemen, that thoſe orders ſhould have inſtantly been obeyed, could we have done it conſiſtently with the duty we owe you, and with the ſolemn engagements entered into with your allies. To conciliate the minds of his majeſty and the Vizier, and to curb the ambitious projects and hoſtile intentions of the latter, were the firſt motives for continuing the brigade at Allahabad, after the receipt of your orders. To inforce, if neceſſity required, the performance of the Vizier's late treaty with us, to be in readineſs to ſupport the Madraſs adminiſtration, if the ſecurity of your poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel ſhould require our making a diverſion againſt the Maharatta power, and to be a check on the ambitious projects of Shaw Abdalla, ſhould he have determined to attack the frontiers of your allies, were conſiderations which next urged us to detain your troops in the only ſtation where they could be of eſſential ſervice to your affairs.

Let us, therefore, flatter ourſelves, that the cauſes aſſigned for having hitherto ſuſpended the execution of your orders, will evince that the meaſures adopted proceeded from abſolute neceſſity, and will acquit us of any imputation of diſreſpect, or inattention to your commands.

Sorry we are to inform you that your affairs on the Coaſt wear a moſt unfavourable appearance, and are even reduced, by the repeated ſucceſſes of Hyder Ally, to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs. The Madraſs Preſidency, ſenſible of the many dangers which ſurround them, have given us a moſt pathetic account of their ſituation; nor can we expect from the advices they have lately tranſmitted to us, a very ſpeedy iſſue to the long, dangerous, and expenſive war in which they are engaged, until the treaſures of their Preſidency and our own ſhall be nearly exhauſted. To give them every poſſible ſupport from hence, we have deemed it indiſpenſibly a duty we owe to you, our honourable employers; for being ſervants of the ſame maſters, and being engaged in one general cauſe, we have regarded the welfare of your ſettlement of Fort St. George equally with our own. The ſame principal ſtill actuates us to deviſe poſſible means, which may conduce to their ſecurity, and the welfare of your poſſeſſions.

Little did we imagine, after the very large ſupplies which have been ſent them this ſeaſon for the ſupport of the war, that their neceſſities would ſo increaſe as to compel us to curtail the inveſtment, which the Council have given you the greateſt rea-

son to expect from this Presidency in the ensuing year. But such is the only means which can be devised for enabling us to grant them any effectual assistance.

We are advised that Hyder Ally has made proposals for a peace, but so dishonourable to the Nabob of Arcot, and inglorious to your arms, that they were deemed inadmissible. The gentlemen, however, desirous of accommodating matters, if possible, rather than continue so hazardous and expensive a war, have replied to his hard conditions; and, in their turn, proposed to him such terms as they thought most conducive to your interests. As they expected the result of these negociations would be a continuance of the war, which would considerably increase their military expences, they wished to be ascertained of the resources which they might expect from hence, in order that they might form a plan accordingly for their future operations; and, at the same time, informed us of the state of their finances, which they concluded would enable them to keep an army in the field for the term of three months. The sums of money we have by several late conveyances remitted to Madrass, of which they had not been apprized at the time of their last dispatches, together with two lacks of rupees *, which were sent them on the Experiment, a country ship, immediately on receipt of their last advices, pretty nearly equalled the amount which they calculated for three months disbursements of their army; so that we have every reason to believe, that the safe arrival of our several late remittances will enable them to keep the field against Hyder Ally until the month of September next, independently of other resources, which may arise from the sale of their expected imports, farther loans from individuals residing under their government, and a possibility of the Nabob's making farther payments on account of the revenues of the Carnatic.

That they might be at some degree of certainty in regard to future resources from this quarter, we have given it as our opinion that they may depend on being supplied with an annual sum of twenty-four lacks of rupees †, to commence from the month of October next, so long as it is to tend to the actual support of the war they are at present engaged in, provided we are not compelled to enter into warlike operations in defence of these provinces; and that, should their future necessities increase, it may be possible, by putting a stop to our investment, to augment our supplies to thirty lacks ‡. At the same time that we thus candidly offered our opinion on the assistance they may expect from us in case of need, we could not but inform them of the very distressed state to which this country must inevitably be reduced, by such considerable exportations of its specie.

You have before been informed that our principal object in bringing matters to a speedy conclusion with Janoojee, was to divert Mahadavarow from entering the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ally. The advices lately transmitted to us from Colonel Smith have for the present relieved us from apprehensions in that quarter; since we find he has directed his operations towards the province of Berar, and seems seriously intent on crushing the power and influence of Janoojee. We have therefore thought it highly impolitic at this juncture to continue our negociations with this chief, as his fate must actually be decided, long ere any of our forces could reach him, even should we have deemed it necessary, as a check on Mahadavarow's growing power, to march your troops to his assistance. If Mahadavarow should prove unsuccessful in his attempt, and should resume his former intentions of entering the Carnatic, it will then be time enough to think seriously of a league with Janoojee.

Mr. Rumbold having in his letter to us, setting forth the present state of the Bahar province, represented the necessity of making some deductions in the revenues of that province,

* 25,000 l. † 300,000 l. ‡ 375,000 l.

province, we embraced the opportunity of Mahomed Reza Cawn's being on a visit to Calcutta to consult his opinion on a matter of such importance. It was a measure he thought absolutely necessary to be taken, and his reasons in general coincided with those of Mr. Rumbold.

The experience that gentleman must have acquired during the time he has been vested with the charge of the Bahar collections, and the general knowledge of Mahomed Reza Cawn in all matters relating to the Dewanny revenues, induced us to consent to such deductions being made from the general statement of that province at the last Poonah, as may be deemed irrecoverable, or such as may prove an immediate relief and encouragement to the Ryots in the future cultivation of their lands. We hope this act of lenity will impress them with a favourable opinion of the government, induce them to exert their industrious labour to promote its welfare, and enable them to pay their rents more regularly in future.

Mr. Kelsall has represented to us, that he labours under many inconveniences in the provision of your investment, from not being vested with the charge of the Dacca collection. We have replied to his representation, by acquainting him, that as you had been pleased to approve the mode adopted by the Select Committee, for conducting the business of the Dewanny revenues, we could not deviate therefrom without your orders, and that we should refer his letter to your consideration and decision.

The Governor having informed us, that Mahomed Reza Cawn was particularly desirous of his presence at the city, to enquire into sundry matters relative to the collections of the Bengal province, and of his readiness to comply with the request; we approved of his intention, and he has accordingly proceeded on his journey.

We have the honour to transmit you by this packet copies of Mr. Sykes's country correspondence, as resident at the Durbar, to the time of his delivering over the charge of that station to Mr. Becher, together with a duplicate of our last letter, the broken sett of our proceedings, and other papers since the last dispatch, as per inclosed list of the packet; and to subscribe ourselves, with the utmost respect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XXII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, April 21, 1769.

Since the dispatch of the Shrewsbury, by which ship we had the honour to address you, under date the 6th instant, we have received advice from your Presidency at Fort St. George, that they had concluded a peace with Hyder Ally, on the 4th instant; and that he, in consequence, was immediately to quit the Carnatic.

When we consider that the Thames will be the only sea conveyance of this season, by which the gentlemen at Madrass can transmit to you such important advices, and the possibility of her losing her passage to England, or of meeting with other accidents which may attend her late dispatch, we cannot hesitate to embrace the opportunity,

which now prefents itfelf in the difpatch of a French fhip from Chandernagore, of thus briefly informing you of a circumftance which fo nearly concerns the welfare of your poffeffions on that coaft. To this we are the more ftrongly induced, from the entire confidence we repofe in the prudence and fidelity of Mr. John Sumner, one of your late covenanted fervants on this eftablifhment, who being compelled to return to his native country for the recovery of his health, has obtained the Council's permiffion to embark in this fhip, it being the only remaining fea conveyance of this feafon. But as foreign fhips muft be ever diftruftful channels for the conveying of public and important advices, we hope to ftand excufed for not tranfmitting you the particulars, which we doubt not you will receive by land from your Prefidency at Bombay or Fort St. George.

Mr. Sumner, to whom this addrefs is entrufted, has been directed to deftroy it, if he perceives any danger of its falling into foreign hands.

We have the honour to fubfcribe ourfelves with the utmoft refpect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYFR.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. VERELST, to the COURT of DIRECTORS, during his Government in BENGAL, relative to the commercial and political interefts of that country.

No. XXIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, March 17, 1767.

It is with pleafure I can inform you, that the prefent fituation of the country, and of the Prefidency, leaves me but little room to doubt that we fhall, for fome time, at leaft, enjoy the moft perfect tranquility abroad, and concord at home. The preparations to difturb the repofe of the empire, which are making by the Duranny * king, appear to me too diftant to affect us, or our allies, for this feafon; and it is highly probable, that he will never venture to advance nearer to us than Dehly. The lateft advices inform us, that he is ftill diftant from Dehly about two hundred and fifty miles: it is likewife reported, that he has difpatched his deputies to demand the revenues of the different provinces of the empire; and that an agent is now on his way to Bengal with a commiffion to the above effect. For my own part, when I confider the prodigious length of the march, the numberlefs difficulties which muft be encountered; the oppofition of the Seiks; the jealoufy that muft feize the many independent nations who feparate us from Abdalla; the advanced feafon of the year; and efpecially the great reputation in arms which we have eftablifhed over all India, I have but little apprehenfions that he will be able to create any difturbance this year.

I am

* Shaw Abdalla.

I am more inclined to believe, that a prince who has the reputation of policy, will never ſtake his fortune on the precarious iſſue of an attempt that muſt be attended with dangers and difficulties, more than proportioned to the advantages he can expect from ſucceſs. Prudence, however, requires, that we ſhould not indulge in too much ſecurity; nor be wanting in thoſe meaſures which are neceſſary to inſpire with confidence our ally Sujah al Dowlah, the King, and thoſe other country powers whoſe intereſt leads them to oppoſe Abdalla, and to form a barrier to the Nabob's dominions.

We have, for this purpoſe, reſolved upon a plan, the particulars of which appear on the face of our proceedings the 23d of February, with a view, that all our military operations might be maturely concerted before Colonel Smith repaired to the army; and that nothing might remain but the immediate execution, ſhould we find the enemy are likely to advance to our frontier.

The motion of the five battalions of Sepoys to Seragepore, ſufficiently indicates to all the country powers, our determined reſolution not only to ſtand upon our own defence, but to extend our protection to all thoſe who are connected with us in friendſhip, or engaged to us by treaties, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with our own ſecurity and intereſt. Yet we ſhall avoid iſſuing orders to the ſecond brigade, and the remainder of the third, to join the above detachment, until the circumſtances of our intelligence render it abſolutely neceſſary, as this motion might alarm the minds of the people, and, in ſome degree, impede the collections, and other public buſineſs.

As to the Maharattas, we have nothing to apprehend from them in this quarter; their chief, Ragoonaut Row, is in full march to the ſouthward; and, by our laſt advices, had reached Narva Gaut, but with what views we cannot yet determine.

Janoogee, the Maharatta chief of Naugpore, ſeems well diſpoſed to cultivate our friendſhip, and promote the negociation reſpecting the ceſſion (upon certain conſiderations) of Cuttack to the Company. You have already been informed of the end propoſed in this treaty; to negociate which, I have at the Committee's recommendation, wrote for Janoogee's Vackeel to proceed to the Preſidency; and you may depend on my utmoſt attention to your honour and ſecurity in every ſtep I ſhall take in ſo important a tranſaction.

From the valuable cargoes already ſhipped in the Cruttenden, Britannia, Anſon, Albany, and Nottingham, as well as the goods provided for the Mercury, and thoſe that will be lying on hand in the warehouſe for want of tonnage, you will perceive that our utmoſt endeavours have been exerted to produce an encreaſe of your inveſtment: nothing, in my power, indeed, ſhall be wanting to forward a meaſure, by means of which alone you can hope to receive the full advantages of your increaſed revenues; but I am ſenſible many obſtacles will occur from the great flow of money now in the hands of foreign nations, and from the uncommon ſcarcity of weavers that prevails at preſent at all the factories and Aurungs; whether this ***uncommon ſcarcity of weavers*** proceeds from the troubles in which the country was ſo lately overwhelmed, or whether it ariſes from the general decline of trade at all the ports in India, it is certain that a great number of the manufacturers in cloth have deſerted their profeſſion, to ſeek for ſubſiſtence from a leſs precarious calling: hence follow thoſe unavoidable diſputes which ſo frequently happen with the French and Dutch, who leave no means untried to ſeduce the weavers from our ſervice.

The chief and council of Coſſimbazar have been apprehenſive they ſhould be under a neceſſity of raiſing the wages of their workmen, or of renouncing all hopes of encreaſing the inveſtment. Such a ſtep would prove prejudicial to your affairs, unleſs we could, at the ſame time, come to ſome equitable compromiſe with the other European eſtabliſhments, to check an evil equally felt by themſelves.

We are now taking every poſſible ſtep towards ſecuring a ſtill farther increaſe of your inveſtment for the enſuing ſeaſon. All the factories and Aurungs are fully ſupplied with the neceſſary advances, and there is at preſent the greateſt proſpect that the buſineſs will be conducted with zeal and alacrity.

The ſame attention will be paid to the collections of the revenues; to enforce, regulate, and eſtabliſh which, both with reſpect to the ballances of the preſent year, and the ſtatements of the enſuing general Poonah, I propoſe next month taking a tour of the provinces, for as long a time as the affairs of the Preſidency will admit of my abſence. This meaſure was recommended by Lord Clive to the Committee; and, I flatter myſelf, it will be the means not only of increaſing the revenues, but of conciliating the minds of the people to our government, as it will furniſh us with the means of redreſſing grievances, and correcting abuſes, which muſt otherwiſe have eſcaped my knowledge.

H. V.

No. XXIV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, March 28, 1768.

The ſeveral occurrences ſince I had the honour to addreſs you by the Nottingham, ſtand ſo fully recorded on the proceedings of your Council and Committee, that a ſecond addreſs from me would appear unneceſſary, were there not ſome ſubjects which I could wiſh to point out to your more particular attention; and others, which, though of conſequence, do not fall under the cognizance either of the Council or Committee.

It is to their proceedings I would refer you for proofs of that harmony, with which your affairs have been conducted during my government. Their example has been imitated by the younger ſervants in both civil and military departments; who, deſirous of convincing their employers, that their paſt faults have been occaſioned by the heat and extravagance of youth, apply themſelves with diligence to the diſcharge of their ſeveral functions. Nor can I with juſtice to theſe gentlemen omit remarking to you, that in general where errors have ariſen, they have proceeded more from their extreme youth and inexperience, than from any inclination to do wrong; as ſuch, I flatter myſelf they will be overlooked.

The only difference of opinion that has given riſe to altercation, you will ſee recorded in the proceedings of the Committee, in their correſpondence with Colonel Smith commanding your forces. As his ideas of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah, and of the political meaſures which have been purſued, have conſtantly differed from ours, I judge it incumbent upon me, for your information, and for the juſtification of our conduct, to lay before you a compendious ſtatement of the different powers of Hindoſtan, by whom our own, or the public tranquility can be eſſentially diſturbed; a ſtatement, which will fully evince the ſecurity of the Honourable Company's poſſeſſions here, and the ſtability of the ſyſtem which has been ſo happily adopted.

The firſt and great cauſe of our ſecurity is, the general indigence of the Mogul empire; the invaſion of Nadir Shaw gave the firſt ſtroke to its power and opulence, but it fell not ſo heavily as is commonly imagined. It gave a mortal wound, it is true, to the overgrown wealth and arrogance of the Omras; but, as the blow was not purſued, its effect was not immediately felt beyond the capital. The eruption of the Maharattas enſued, their wide extended ravages laid deſolate almoſt every thing on the ſouth ſide of the Ganges, from near the frontiers of Bahar, on the eaſt, to Sirhind on the north and weſt. Their undiſtinguiſhing rapine plunged cities and countries

countries in one common ruin, and the empire muſt have ſunk under their oppreſſion, or fallen a prey to their ambition, if the defeat at Paniput had not put a period at once to their power and devaſtations. The expeditions of the Shaw Abdalla ſucceeded, which, though neither ſo extenſive, deſtructive, or bloody, as thoſe of the Maharattas, ſtill conduced greatly to exhauſt a declining ſtate; and, though his ſphere of action was chiefly confined to the Panjab and confines of Dehly, yet the vaſt ſums he levied muſt have been ſeverely felt throughout a country which produces no ſilver, and but very little gold. So large a decreaſe of ſpecie naturally produced a decay of trade, and a diminution of cultivation; and, though theſe evils have, in ſome meaſure, been palliated in our provinces by the annual imports of bullion, yet in the moſt flouriſhing interior parts, ſuch as Benâres, Mirzapore, &c. the fact is notorious, and beyond diſpute.

The natural conſequence of theſe circumſtances has been, that the different powers find their finances narrow, and their treaſures unequal to the maintenance of a reſpectable army, or the proſecution of a war of any duration. Whenever, therefore, they are urged by ambition or neceſſity to enter on any expedition, they aſſemble new levies for the purpoſe with the moſt unreflecting precipitancy; they riſk every thing on one campaign, becauſe they have ſeldom reſources for a ſecond, and come to an engagement at all events, becauſe the conſequence of a defeat are leſs terrible than thoſe which muſt enſue from the deſertion, or ſedition of an ill paid and diſaffected army. As their troops then are chiefly raw men and aliens, they are without attachment to their general, or confidence in each other: a variety of independent commanders deſtroys all ſubordination and authority; and the certainty of beggary and ſtarving, from the common accidents of war, throws a damp on the moſt ardent bravery.

Theſe circumſtances, I apprehend, gentlemen, have been very principal ſources of our repeated victories over theſe immenſe Aſiatic armies, which have fled before a handful of your troops; and theſe will, I truſt, either deter others in future, or enſure ſucceſs againſt any who may be deſperate enough to brave a force like ours, ſo ſtrengthened by diſcipline, and rendered formidable by uninterrupted ſucceſſes.

A ſecond, and no leſs powerful reaſon for the ſecurity of our ſituation, is the diſcordancy of the principles, views, and intereſts of the neighbouring powers; and which muſt ever defeat any project of accompliſhing, by an aſſociation, what the wealth or power of a ſingle one muſt prove unequal to. The majority of the preſent princes of Hindoſtan have no natural right to the countries they poſſeſs. In the general wreck of the monarchy, every man ſeized what fortune threw into his hands; and they are, therefore, more ſtudious to ſecure what they have already obtained, than to graſp at new acquiſitions. Hence, the principal diſturbances which have lately happened in Hindoſtan, (Sujah al Dowlah's invaſion of Bengal excepted) have been accidental broils raiſed by the Maharattas, Seiks, and the Shaw Abdalla, whoſe views were rather extended to plunder than to territorial poſſeſſions. Conſcious that the maintenance of their uſurped authority depends on their preventing any of the members from being too much depreſſed, or too much elevated, they are become jealous and ſuſpicious of each other, and ever ready to throw in their weight againſt any one whom they ſee riſing too high above the common level. For this reaſon, they at firſt looked on our ſucceſſes with an evil eye, 'till our generoſity to Sujah al Dowlah; our attention to our treaties and public faith; and above all, our moderation in not purſuing our victories, begot a confidence in us they had not in their countrymen, and made them rather ambitious of our friendſhip than jealous of our power.

Thus

Thus circumſtanced, it will always be eaſy for a watchful and active adminiſtration on our ſide, to hold the general ballance of Hindoſtan, and cruſh every combination in the bud, by ſpiriting up ſome neighbouring power, who may be either ill-diſpoſed, or at leaſt not favourable to the confederates. A very little acquaintance with the diſpoſition of the natives, will ſhew their ardour for change, where they have a proſpect of ſupport; and the ſituation of Allahabad, and the ſtation of a brigade there, renders this plan ſtill more practicable. Its ſituation makes it, in ſome meaſure, the key of the ſurrounding territories; and its vicinity to the ſeveral countries of Sujah al Dowlah, the Rohillas, Jauts, and Maharattas, enables us to penetrate their views with more certainty, and in caſe of neceſſity, to enter any part with our army in ten or fifteen days, where we can have either an ally to ſupport, or an enemy to puniſh. It is for theſe reaſons, we have been obliged to retain a brigade out of the provinces. Our repeated reſolutions in Committee, will, I doubt not, evince our earneſt deſire to fulfil your orders on this head, and the neceſſity itſelf excuſes us for keeping it there as long as theſe reaſons ſhall ſubſiſt.

Such, gentlemen, ſeem to be the general cauſes of our preſent ſecurity here; but they receive additional ſtrength, from the particular characters and ſituations of the ſeveral potentates themſelves.

The King, Shaw Allum, acknowledged emperor of Hindoſtan, retains little of the authority or dominions of his anceſtors, but what he has derived from us. The provinces of Korah and Allahabad yield him a revenue of about twenty-ſeven lacks* per annum, at a rack rent; this is almoſt exhauſted, to ſupport rather the name, than the ſubſtance of an army, whilſt the Bengal tribute defrays the expences of his court and houſhold, and enables him to live in an affluence, if not with a ſplendor, he never before enjoyed. His abilities are rather below mediocrity, and his character ſeems rather calculated for private life than a throne. He is religious, as a man; affectionate, as a father; and humane, as a maſter; but, as a prince, he is weak, indolent, irreſolute, and eaſily ſwayed by the counſels of ſelf-intereſted men: I cannot, however, think we have any thing to apprehend from theſe diſpoſitions; the remembrance of what he experienced, when dependent on Sujah al Dowlah, has created in him ſuch a diffidence of Hindoſtan connexions, as will effectually prevent him truſting himſelf to any of them again; and, at the ſame time, he probably entertains a diſtant hope, that the hand which has already raiſed him to his preſent independence, may one day be extended to reſtore him to his throne and right.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, is our next ally; and, if gratitude can be any tie on an Hindoſtan heart, we have every reaſon to conſider him as connected with us by the moſt indiſſoluble bonds. His dominions, except the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, lie on the north of the Ganges, and extend to the hills; and, though they are more thinly peopled than is common in this country, have been ſo much improved by his late regulations in them, as to produce annually near one crore and twenty-five lacks of † rupees. His increaſe of ſtrength has kept pace with his increaſe of revenue. He has near eleven battalions of Sepoys of all ſorts, a good body of horſe, and has made conſiderable additions to his artillery and magazines; but, as his whole revenue can never ſupport a force which can be really formidable to us, ſo it will always be in our power to direct the force he has to ſuch purpoſes as may beſt conduce to the intereſt of the Honourable Company and the general peace. The Nabob's education, and perhaps diſpoſition, have led him to be vain, aſpiring, and impatient. He is active, but deſultory; his judgment rather acute than ſound; and his generalſhip and policy more plauſible than ſolid. From pride, or jealouſy, he is afraid to employ men of abilities or rank, in the ſeveral departments of his government;

* 337,500 *l.*

† 1,562,500 *l.*

ment; he plans, directs, overfees, and executes every thing himfelf; fo that the multiplicity of bufinefs, and his daily encreafing infirmities, oblige him to leave his beft defigns imperfect and crude. His ambition, it is true, is always inciting him to form new projects, but his volatility induces him to be continually abandoning fome, and his impetuofity often renders the remainder abortive. In a word, from a moft careful review of his character and conduct, he feems a much properer inftrument to accomplifh the Company's main point, the maintaining themfelves the umpires of Hindoftan, than an enemy, who, from his ftrength or fituation, could give them any material uneafinefs or trouble.

The Rohilla chiefs fucceed, as feveral of them are immediately contiguous to the dominions of his majefty, or of Sujah al Dowlah. The principal ones are Achmed Cawn Bungifh, Haffez Rahmet Cawn, and Nijib al Dowlah, befides feveral of lefs importance; fuch as, Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, &c. Though all thefe are, in fact, independent of each other; yet, as being of one tribe, and deriving their power from one ftock, (Ally Mahomed Cawn) it is generally fuppofed they would unite in their common defence; although, from their difpofitions and fituations, it feems hardly poffible they could be brought to act unanimoufly. Their joint force is computed at about eighty thoufand effective horfe and foot; but thefe, from their native hardinefs, their dexterity with the fword, and fkill in the ufe of war rockets, have generally been ranked in higher eftimation than the ordinary Hindoftan troops; and the people in general, from fome circumftances in their political conftitution, may be confidered rather as a rifing power, at leaft in national ftrength.

The territories of Achmed Cawn Bungifh, immediately border on the Korah country to the weftward; they lie chiefly, if not entirely, between the Ganges and the Jumna; and his capital, Furruk-abad, is fituated on the Ganges, about fifty cofs beyond the territories of Korah; his revenues, at the higheft eftimation, amount to * thirty-five or forty lacks of rupees, but the receipts do not probably exceed † thirty, and his ordinary force may be about eight thoufand horfe and foot: he is now pretty far advanced in years, and unfit for active life, both from an incurable lamenefs, and the various infirmities which a long courfe of every fpecies of debauchery has brought on: yet, with all his vices, he is a man of ftrong parts, extenfive experience, and deep policy. He makes feveral generous allowances to men of noble families and decayed fortunes, and is a great encourager of trade, by ufing every endeavour to protect the merchant from the natural turbulency of his fubjects; on thefe accounts, he is much refpected among his tribe, and is generally confidered as their leader in cafe of an attack on their community, though the other two principal chiefs exceed him both in revenue and force. He has no children to fucceed him, but has, after the Rohilla cuftom, adopted one of his flaves, and given him the title of Daim Cawn.

The country poffeffed by Haffez Rahmet Cawn joins to the weftern limits of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and lies entirely on the north of the Ganges, except Etwah, and fome other ftraggling Pergunnahs, which lie on the Jumna. The extent of it towards the north and the weft cannot be accurately determined, as our accounts are but imperfect and from report, but it produces a revenue of at leaft ‡ fifty or fixty lacks of rupees, and enables him to maintain a ftanding army of about fifteen or eighteen thoufand horfe and foot. His character has little to diftinguifh it, except that low cunning, intrigue, and deceit, fo general in this country; and his avarice makes him particularly cautious of rifquing his treafures by engaging in difputes or war. With all his parfimony, he is not very rich, and his fon, Anaut Alnah Cawn, a bold, giddy youth, without education or parts, draws all he can from him to fup-ply

* 437,500 *l.* or 500,000 *l.* † 375,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.* or 750,000 *l.*

ply his own extravagance: the father is between forty and fifty years of age, but healthy and strong, and the son about twenty-three or twenty-four at most.

The possessions of Nijib al Dowlah are bounded by Sirhind on the west, and, beginning on the Jumna about seven Coss east of Dehly, they take a sweep quite across the peninsula, and to the northward of the Ganges, so as to join Haffez Rahmet's and Dunnedy Cawn's western frontier. He has, also, some districts in the confines of Dehly to the south of the Jumna. The revenue of such an immense tract of country, in one of the most fertile parts of the empire, would be prodigious; but the greatest part of it having long been the seat of war, and of the depredations of the Maharattas, Seiks, and Abdalla, it is much impoverished, and does not yield above eighty or ninety † lacks per annum. Considerable, however, as this is, his treasury was never very full. He has been obliged for many years to keep a strong army for the protection of his dominions and his family, against the continual incursions of the Seiks, &c. and the large contributions he was obliged last year to pay the Shaw Abdalla, has now probably drained it entirely. His troops are generally twenty thousand, or more; and, as he has been almost continually at war, are veteran and brave. As a man, and a prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindostan of, at once, a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity, and strength of genius; and has maintained himself in it with universal applause, by a spirited and well grounded system of policy. Experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defect of his birth and family. He is a strict lover of justice, a most faithful subject to his emperor, and has long been the sole defence and support of the Royal Family at Dehly. His wisdom and conduct were no where more manifest than in his transactions last year with the Shaw Abdalla. He found himself obliged to join him, or expose his country to an immediate invasion, and, therefore, complied with the necessity; but, at the same time, so protracted their councils, and threw so many secret obstacles in the way of their designs, that after several months, the Shaw finding his troops mutinous for want of pay or plunder, himself harrassed by the Seiks, the heats begun, and the rains approaching, was obliged to return home with disgrace, and rest contented with a sum of money infinitely inferior to what his expedition had promised. Another man, in such a situation, would probably have lost his life or liberty; but Nijib al Dowlah, by his prudence, at once saved his dominions, and extricated himself. He is now about sixty years old, and his constitution much worn down by fatigue and sickness; so that it is probable he will soon be succeeded by his eldest son, Zabelah Cawn, aged near thirty-five, who, to all his father's virtues, joins the improvements of a liberal education.

It would be unnecessary to trouble you with a detail of Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, and the other inferior chiefs. They can have no political consequence; but as their dominions are surrounded by those of the more powerful Sirdars, they must, of necessity, adopt whatever plan of action the others may think expedient to embrace.

The dominions of Jewhar Sing, or the Jaut country, extends in the peninsula from Agra to within a few Coss of Dehly on the west, and near Etwah on the east; they are possessed likewise of a large tract to the south of the Jumna; and, besides a number of inferior places of strength, have three forts which are deemed almost impregnable. The revenue of Jewhar Sing is, on a moderate computation, near two crore of ‡ rupees per annum, besides the astonishing sums his father Serage Mahl had amassed. But, though he is so much superior to his neighbours in wealth, his strength is

† 1,000,000 *l.* or 1,125,000 *l.* ‡ 2,500,000 *l.*

is not proportionable; his people, from their cast and occupation, are unaddicted to arms, and he has, therefore, on all occasions where he has been attacked himself, or has attacked others, been obliged to call in foreign auxiliaries: these carry off a large proportion of his excess of wealth, and must, if he has any thought, render him cautious of engaging much in war, lest the same arms he uses for the destruction of others, may be ultimately turned against himself. His character, like the majority of the great in Hindostan, is that of a man absorbed in pleasure and luxury; weak, vain-glorious, aspiring, without experience or abilities. He discovered some personal bravery in his late engagement with the Raje-poots, but little prudence or conduct in the commencement of the war, or method of carrying it on. His standing army is computed at about twelve thousand horse, a large body of foot, who garrison his forts; and Somroo, with his rabble of Sepoys, is the general he seems most to depend upon.

The power with which he is now at war, is Maha Rajah Madhu Sing; and his ambition, which led him to the invasion, cost him, five months ago, so signal a defeat, that he has been obliged to call in the Seiks to his assistance. His adversary has done the same with the Maharattas; and should their divisions permit them to answer the summons, in all probability after the ensuing rains the dispute may become obstinate and bloody: whatever may be the event, it can scarcely affect us; and the most probable consequence seems to be, a confirmation of the general tranquility, as these four principal powers will be too much enfeebled, by their mutual efforts against each other, to be speedily in a condition of giving the public any disturbance.

Maha Rajah Madhu Sing possesses a large district to about the south-west of Dehly, and his revenue is estimated at about a crore of * rupees. Few princes of Hindostan can compare with him for the antiquity of his family, or the fame of his ancestors. His subjects are chiefly Raje-poots, born to war; they are the cultivators of his lands in peace, and the undaunted defenders of these lands when invaded. Proud of their ancient glory, they disdain to fly, and rush with intrepidity to certain death or victory. In the late engagement with Jewhar Sing, their horse rode up through the fire of above ninety pieces of cannon, and all the musquetry of the Sepoys, till they came to swords; and, though thrice repulsed, renewed the attack, which met with the success their bravery deserved, and night alone saved the remains of the Jaut's broken forces. What renders this noble spirit still more laudable is, that it is chiefly exerted in the defence of their families and master; nor do I recollect an instance in the annals of Hidostan, where they were subdued themselves, or attempted the conquest of others.

The Maha Rajah is more remarkable for his family than talents; and though neither weak nor deficient, yet his abilities can hardly entitle him to eminence or fame. His standing army is but inconsiderable, because, as I observed before, all his subjects are his soldiers; so that, however amply he is provided for his own security, his system is no ways calculated for foreign expeditions.

We have been so long acquainted with the Maharattas in the Deccan, that it would be superfluous to make any observations on their situations, to gentlemen so well informed of it from the presidencies of Madrass and Bombay; and I should not have mentioned them at all, except as possessors of some districts which lie on the south of the Jumna, and contiguous to the † demesnes of our § royal ally. Their neighbourhood, however, can never give us cause of apprehension, as the smallness of their force there leaves them rather open to invasions themselves, than puts it in their power to molest others: and the late advices from Bombay and Madrass, will

* 1,250,000 *l.* † The province of Korah and Allahabad.
§ Shah Allum, the present emperor of Hindostan.

clearly point out how impracticable it must be for the Maharattas, under their present intestine divisions and jealousies, to send any formidable reinforcements to so remote possessions with hostile views. I shall close this head with one general remark, that as the Maharattas are notoriously the soldiers for hire, their arms will probably be ever at our devotion, because our revenues can best enable us to come up to their price.

As the country of the Seiks commences as far west as Sirhind, their distance would be a sufficient reason for omitting them in this detail, did not their astonishing rise from the lowest ebb of national weakness, to a most respectable pitch of power, make it necessary just to touch on them. In the reign of Ferruk Seer, their tribe was not computed at above one thousand persons; but their admission of converts of all persuasions into their religion, has, in so short an interval, swelled their force to above eighty thousand men fit for arms; and put them in possession of all that fertile country between Sirhind and the river Atoch. In a political view, they seem rather a barrier for Hindostan against Abdalla, or any other western power, than a people aiming at conquest; and their military conduct on the § Shaw's late expedition, gave full proof of their ability to repel, if not ruin an invader.

This, gentlemen, is the state of the Hindostan powers, which I have taken the liberty of submitting to your cognizance. I believe it will be found exact, though not minute, and be sufficient to demonstrate, that, as every advantage of revenue, discipline, force, and unanimity is on our side, so the opposite disadvantages must prove fatal to any power who may attempt to be your enemy. I must refer you to the country correspondence for farther particulars, as well as for the confirmation of what I have here advanced. You will there find pleasing proofs of the anxious desire all the powers I have enumerated, express for our alliance and friendship; and you will clearly perceive from thence, how easy it must be for us to maintain our present character as umpires of Hindostan, by counteracting any hostile designs against ourselves or our allies, by our influence at a distance, or by our force when near. This has been the system I have ever strenuously recommended to the Committee; the maxim I have invariably pursued myself; and this, I trust, will continue in future to be crowned with the desired success.

I could have wished the * gentlemen on the Coast had been more deeply impressed with this idea, so that the reinforcements sent from Bengal, instead of being scattered and dismembered, might have struck the important blow we meditated against the † Subah. In this case, Hyder-abad, weak and defenceless, must have fallen an easy prey before the Nizam could have even received intelligence of the expedition; and, as the capture must have more universally enforced a conviction of our power, so the generous restitution of it to a repenting enemy, must have highly exalted our moderation and disinterestedness.

You will observe, from the Committee proceedings, that a jealousy has long subsisted between the courts of his ‡ majesty and Sujah al Dowlah. A seeming attention in us to one more than to the other, will ever awaken apprehensions; and, however nice and delicate our conduct may be, imaginary cause for uneasiness will always be found. His majesty has lately, through our interposition, listened to an accommodation with the ‖ Nabob; and, by a letter just received, has confirmed his reconciliation, by conferring a dress on the ‖ Vizier.

The very large and valuable cargoes laden on board the several ships of this season, will, I hope, be a convincing proof of the great attention that has been paid to so

§ Shaw Abdalla, the Duranny king.
* The presidency of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel. † Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.
‡ Shah Allum, the present emperor of Hindostan. ‖ Sujah al Dowlah, the Vizier.

im-

important a part of your affairs. The feveral invoices amount to no lefs than five millions eight hundred and ninety-fix thoufand * rupees, and a ballance of goods remains in the warehoufes of four hundred and forty-nine thoufand † rupees, which makes the total of your inveftment this feafon fix millions three hundred and forty-five thoufand ‡ rupees. So confiderable an increafe, at a time when the other nations were equally anxious with ourfelves to extend their trade, could not be effected without many difagreeable complaints from both the French and Dutch factories; though many of them, upon examination, proved frivolous, and others without foundation. They muft do us the juftice to acknowledge, that we have acted towards them with moderation, and have often affifted them by our influence with the country government in points that were not detrimental to your intereft; nor has this increafe been unattended by complaints from your own fervants, though, I muft confefs, with much more juftice: and my duty to my employers, no lefs than humanity to the fufferers, calls upon me to lay before you a diftinct reprefentation of their cafe. The incurfions of the Maharattas in the time of the Nabob Alliverdy Cawn, the difputes we were forced into with his fucceffor, Serajah al Dowlah, and the war we fuftained againft the bloody tyrant Meer Coffim, have kept thefe provinces in a continual ftate of confufion, and introduced all the evils attendant upon war. Cultivation was neglected, manufactures were deftroyed, and numbers of weavers and winders were obliged to procure fubfiftence from a lefs precarious employment. We have, indeed, enjoyed a few years of reft, and the country every day feels more and more the benefit arifing from it. Plenty has fucceeded to famine, and fecurity has induced the natives to apply themfelves again to labour, and to commerce; but the manufactures are fcarcely encreafed, the Aurungs are not fo well peopled as they were twenty years before; and yet your demands, and thofe of the other nations, are beyond what the country is able to fupply, was every fpecies of cloth to be purchafed. The amount of your orders is above a ‖ crore and twenty lacks, the Dutch wifh to have § forty, the French are endeavouring to procure ** twenty-two, and the Danes and Portuguefe †† fifteen.

The French and Dutch Companies, by granting remittances only for fuch fums as have been paid into their treafuries in filver, have been amply fupplied with money; and they have as amply furnifhed their agents at the Aurungs with the proper fpecies of rupees, whilft we have been put to difficulties in that account. To obviate thefe in fome meafure, and to comply with your orders to the utmoft of our power, we have been obliged to curtail the private trade of your fervants at every Aurung to a degree almoft of annihilation.

Deprived of that principal branch of commerce by which alone the fhipping trade can be fupported, interdicted trading in falt, whilft we behold all the foreign nations, as well as natives, enjoying the benefit of it, under feigned names and various pretences, too intricate to be unfolded, and too deeply laid to be checked or brought to public view, prohibited all other means of accumulating money, with fmall falaries, and no emoluments, from whence is a fervant to raife a fortune in Bengal? I declare, I have as great an opinion of your prefent fet of fervants in general, as of any one body of men: but with fuch a profpect before them, having the government of a rich and populous kingdom, and the amount of millions paffing through their hands, they muft be more than men to ftand the fiery trial: were they to refift the temptation, I greatly fear that zeal and vigour fo neceffary for the profperous

* 663,300 *l.* † 50,512 *l.* ‡ 713,812 *l.*

‖ 1,350,000 *l.*—§ 500,000 *l.*—** 275,000 *l.*—†† 187,500 *l.*—Total, 2,312,500 *l.* fterling ¶.

¶ Here, rupees of the Englifh are eftimated at two fhillings and three pence each, being current; thofe of foreign nations, at two fhillings and fix pence each, being filver.

management of your affairs, would be wanting; but, should it be too powerful, I tremble for the consequences.

This, I am sensible, is not the state to which you would wish to see your service reduced, but it really is the state at present; you have been pleased to promise your servants some consideration in lieu of the salt, and they wait with anxiety your resolutions.

I have thus, gentlemen, performed what my duty required at my hands; if I have any where expressed myself with too much warmth, the nature of the subject will, I hope, sufficiently plead my excuse.

It was this heavy restriction upon private trade, that induced some of the gentlemen clandestinely to extend their commerce into the territories of our ally Sujah al Dowlah, but the ill conduct of some of the Gomastahs having occasioned complaints from the Nabob, I immediately issued orders for their recall, and have taken effectual measures for preventing that trade in future.

The increasing scarcity of silver has been so fully set forth in the proceedings of the Council and Committee, that nothing but the urgent necessity of the settlement could tempt me to remind you of it in this letter. Gold is not current at the Aurungs, and we shall with difficulty be enabled to raise a sufficient quantity of silver for the provision of the ensuing year's investment. A farther remittance to China is entirely out of our power to supply.

The extent of your territorial possessions in Bengal requires a considerable body both of Europeans and Sepoys to be maintained for its defence. The latter corps is constantly kept completed, but the number of the former is far short of the fixed establishment. The recruits of the last season were not even sufficient to supply casualties. As the keeping the brigades and artillery complete is of the highest importance to the safety of these provinces, I must entreat of you, gentlemen, to encrease the number of the annual recruits for Bengal.

The indent for cannon and small arms, I likewise, hope, will be fully complied with; of the former, many may prove useless on the very first trial, and the latter are liable to so many accidents, from the dangerous navigation of the river in transporting them to the army, from the ignorance, the carelessness, or the desertion of the Sepoys, that an ample reserve in our magazines is absolutely necessary; no less than one thousand six hundred of the last supply were lost in the river a few days since, which, I fear, we shall never recover.

An agate quarry has been lately discovered among the hills near Mongheer: as the stone appeared to be of a proper quality for gunflints, I ordered a quantity to be made, and have directed five thousand to be sent to the second brigade, and the like quantity to the remainder of the first brigade, and the troops in garrison; if, upon trial, they answer my expectation, I shall recommend to the board the providing two millions of them to be kept in store for the supply of any future emergency: they are cheaper than the flints from Europe, the expence being only four * rupees for a thousand; but, lest they should not prove serviceable, or the vein be insufficient for a constant supply, I would beg leave to recommend that the indent for this season be complied with. I have sent by Captain Riddle one hundred, taken promiscuously out of the heap, for your examination and opinion.

The Committee proceedings will inform you, that we have been treating with the Maharattas for their cession of the country of Cuttack: this negociation has been greatly protracted, but I am in hopes of seeing it very soon concluded. It is customary with these people to spin out treaties to an immoderate length: avaritious in the highest

* Ten shillings.

degree

degree, they endeavour by every artifice to encreaſe their exorbitant demands; and, faithleſs themſelves, they are ſuſpicious of the faith of others. The advantages of ſuch an acceſſion of territory are too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. The mutual aſſiſtance the † preſidencies can yield each other, unſubjected to the precariouſneſs of the ſeaſons, and the accidents ſo liable to ſhipping, is not one of the leaſt we ſhall derive from completing the chain of your poſſeſſions from the banks of the § Caramnaſſa to the extremities of the coaſt of Coromandel.

I have the honour to encloſe you a general ſtatement of your receipts and diſburſements of caſh during the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven. It is calculated more for ſpeculation, than to be depended upon for its exactneſs; though I am certain you will find it deviating but ſlightly from the truth, ſhould any error appear.

To confirm what I have before urged of the neceſſity of your encreaſing the number of recruits deſtined for this preſidency, I do myſelf the honour to encloſe a ſtate of the European forces, drawn up to the firſt of this month, and compared with one made the 30th of June laſt; from which you will obſerve that three hundred and ninety were ſick, and ſix hundred and ſeventy were wanting to complete the eſtabliſhment, before the arrival of the recruits of laſt ſeaſon; and though none of them were loſt either by death or deſertion during their ſtay at Calcutta, we have at this time three hundred and ſixty-ſix ſick, and three hundred and five are ſtill wanting to complete: an amazing deficiency, when it is conſidered that the ſickly ſeaſon is not yet begun.

A number of gentlemen are employed in a ſurvey of theſe provinces. The boundaries are almoſt finiſhed, and they are now taking the ſections of the ſeveral countries. In September next, I hope to have the pleaſure of ſending you a complete plan of all your poſſeſſions in this part of India. In tracing and examining ſuch an immenſe tract of country, the greateſt part of which affords not the leaſt conveniency to an European, the expence muſt neceſſarily be great, but the benefit of ſuch an undertaking will be an ample compenſation for the charges that are attendant upon it.

You will be pleaſed to receive a general return of your forces, both European and Sepoys. As I have not lately received any return of the detachment to the Coaſt, I have been obliged to omit it.

I flatter myſelf you have, ere now, made choice of a gentleman to ſucceed me in the government: the weakneſs of my conſtitution renders ſuch a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary, if it is not already effected. My gratitude to the Company would not allow me to heſitate a moment in complying with their orders, ſhould they judge it expedient for me to make a longer ſtay in India; but a ſeries of nineteen years dedicated to their ſervice has ſo entirely deſtroyed my conſtitution, that another year's reſidence in Bengal would, in all probability, prove fatal. Should my ill ſtate of health oblige me to vacate the chair before I am honoured with your anſwer, I ſhall quit it with the leſs reluctance, as the gentleman next to me in the ſervice, (Mr. Cartier,) bears ſo worthy and unexceptionable a character: and I take the liberty of recommending him to your particular notice.

Allow me, gentlemen, to conclude with a private requeſt for myſelf, and I the leſs fear a denial, when I reflect, that it is the firſt I have ever taken the liberty to make; that you will indulge me with the remittance of ſuch part of my fortune as may be remaining in India at my departure, through your caſh.

H. V.

† The two preſidencies of Fort St. George on the coaſt of Coromandel, and of Fort William in Bengal.

§ The river Caramnaſſa is the north-weſt boundary of the province of Bahar, and divides it from the late Rajah Bulwant Sing's country.

No. XXV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

Fort William, September 26, 1768.

I had the honour to addreſs you under date the 28th of March, by the ſhip Admiral Pocock, and endeavoured then to give you as full a ſtatement of your political and commercial concerns, as my health and a ſhort reſpite from public buſineſs would permit. I will now proceed on the ſame plan to lay plainly before you every matter which ſeems worthy of your knowledge or attention. I have always deemed this direct correſpondence between the Preſident and the Court of Directors of the moſt ſerious import to the Company; becauſe, having the primary ſuperintendence of the ſeveral departments, he muſt be beſt acquainted with the immediate ſprings of every material event; and becauſe, as an individual, he can communicate his ſentiments with that freedom and unreſerve which the delicacy of public addreſſes will not with propriety admit. It has ever been my principle, and, I truſt, will be ever my practice, to give truth as I find it, even where that truth might appear unfavourable to myſelf, or diſagreeable to you: I look on myſelf as accountable for all my public acts to you, to my king, and to my country; and I will never diſguiſe facts to court approbation, or conceal them from an apprehenſion of cenſure. For this reaſon, I hope my preſent repreſentation will have that weight in your opinions which I could have wiſhed our public ones had been honoured with on ſome late conſequential points. Your Governor and Council, I may ſafely affirm, ever merited the preference which ſeems to have been given to private authorities; and, I am perſuaded, a ſhort reflection will eaſily evince how injurious ſuch a ſuſpicion is to your ſervants, how unworthy of your impartiality, and how dangerous to the Company's affairs in general. The intelligence of individuals can be derived only from partial lights, and communicated mainly with private views. Your ſervants, on the contrary, are immediately preſent on the ſcene of action; they have free acceſs to every ſource of information, and can neither aggrandiſe or villify advantages or loſſes, without certainty of detection and forfeiture of good name. Whatever benefits, therefore, may be expected to accrue from a compariſon of public and private advices, they will be found by experience to be no ballance to their inconveniences: ſuch a jealous attention to their actions may, perhaps, prove a curb to a corrupt adminiſtration, but it will certainly furniſh them with a plauſible excuſe, while a manifeſtation of diſtruſt will inevitably fetter the activity and reſolution of the moſt upright government. As your ſervants, we are accountable for every act and meaſure; but it is ſurely hard that our conduct and integrity ſhould be arraigned on the ill-founded teſtimony of ſanguine or diſcontented men! I am ſenſible how much the delicacy of your ſituation, and the violence of oppoſition muſt have influenced you in this point; and I hope you will excuſe my warmth on the occaſion. A little time will either juſtify or condemn us; and I truſt the preſent * diſpatch will demonſtrate whoſe repreſentations have been moſt authentic and impartial.

The King Shaw Allum remains much in the ſame ſituation, both as to his affairs and diſpoſitions. The memory of what is paſt continues to render him fearful of forming Hindoſtan connections. Formed, as I have obſerved, rather for private life than a throne, he inſenſibly begins to acquieſce in the enjoyment of competence and independency: and his rooted jealouſy of Sujah al Dowlah, and of his encreaſing power,

* By the ſhip Valentine.

binds

binds him to us more ſtrongly, as well from apprehenſion as neceſſity. He profeſſes on all occaſions, and I believe ſincerely, to be influenced only by the Engliſh counſels; and though his re-eſtabliſhment at Dehly is caſually the ſubject of his converſation and letters, yet a reference to Col. Barker's correſpondence will point out how far his reſolutions in this matter are from being immediate or determined.'

In the ſituation of the other potentates of Hindoſtan, no great alteration has taken place, except the deceaſe of the Raje-poot and Jaut chiefs. Maha Rajah Madhu Sing died a natural death, after concluding a ſort of truce rather than peace, with Jewhar Sing and the Seiks; and Jewhar Sing was aſſaſſinated in June by a Raje-poot, four of whom had been commiſſioned by their principal Sirdars for that purpoſe, from an apprehenſion of his views on their country, after the rains, on account of the youth and weakneſs of their new ruler Perteet Sing. No commotions, however, have been produced by this accident. His brother Ruttun Sing (a weak and indolent debauchee) has peaceably ſucceeded him, though it is not improbable that very weakneſs may prove a temptation to his neighbours, or the enterprizing Maharatta or Seik, to attack him at a proper opportunity. Diviſions have alſo been manifeſted among the Rohillas. A formidable inſurrection was raiſed in Achmed Cawn's country, which obliged him to apply to his majeſty and Sujah al Dowlah for aſſiſtance; though tranquility has ſince been reſtored to his territories, by the defeat of the rebel Abedullah Cawn, without any foreign interpoſition. The powers farther to the weſtward appear tranquil and ſettled. There is no appearance of any new expedition from the Shaw Abdalla. And the Seiks will, in all probability, not adopt active meaſures this ſeaſon, as they have received money from Madhu Sing, Jewhar Sing, and Nijib al Dowlah, to purchaſe their friendſhip, or rather to buy off their ravages. The only probability of their return muſt be from the invitation of the Jauts or Raje-poots, ſhould the Maharattas make any attempt upon them. And their interfering in this caſe, will rather add to our ſecurity, than give us reaſon for alarm: becauſe, by their ſupport of the weaker party, the conteſt muſt become more equal, and the only enemy we have to fear in India, be greatly weakened thereby, without the mediation either of our arms or influence.

The ſtate and order of your provinces, revenues, commerce, and ſervice in general, are matters next in conſequence to your political ſecurity; and, as ſuch, require the moſt urgent repreſentations on my part, and the moſt diſpaſſionate attention on yours. The animoſity of public faction, the extravagant hopes of the partial and ſanguine, and the unjuſt miſrepreſentations of the deſigning and diſcontented, have contributed to exaggerate the advantages of all above their real, or even poſſible, amount; they have conſpired to draw on us the public odium, and miſlead the impartiality and propriety of your moſt poſitive orders!

When the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa came under your juriſdiction, they were much ſunk in opulence, population, and manufactures, from their ancient importance. The almoſt continual irruptions of the Maharattas, under the government of Alliverdy Cawn, and the avarice of the miniſters under the ſupineneſs of Serajah al Dowlah, the neceſſities of Meer Jaffier, and the iron hand of the rapacious and blood-thirſty Meer Coſſim, ſtruck equally at the property of the rich, and induſtry of the poor: and while it reduced the one to indigence, compelled the other to ſeek ſafety in flight. If, to theſe, we add, firſt, the immenſe amount in ſpecie and jewels to the value of between three and five crores of * rupees, ſecreted or carried off by Coſſim, after his ſeveral defeats had obliged him to relinquiſh all hopes of a reinſtatement: 2dly, The royal tribute of twenty-ſix † lacks, and the expence

* Between 3,750,000 *l.* and 6,250,00 *l.*

† 325,000 *l.*

expence of about twenty lacks for a brigade, both paid annually out of the provinces, and confequently out of the fphere of our immediate circulation: 3dly, The annual amount of our own, and the other nations inveftments, for which no value is received into the country: 4thly, The large exports of bullion to China, and the different prefidencies during the three laft years: And laftly, the unavoidable misfortune and capital drain, the immenfe fums paid into the cafh of foreign nations, for bills on their refpective Companies. I fay, the aggregate of thefe feveral exports muft appear inevitably and immediately ruinous to the moft flourifhing ftate, much lefs be deemed tolerable to a declining and exhaufted country! Yet it is in this fituation the Court of Directors, and the nation in general, have been induced to expect prodigious remittances in fpecie, from a country which produces little gold and no filver; and where any confiderable imports of both have, for a feries of years, been rendered unneceffary to the trade of foreign Companies, by the general demands for draughts on Europe. It was therefore to be wifhed, and was more than once propofed, that when thefe lands came under our management, we had lowered, for a time the ftated rents of moft diftricts, as an incitement to cultivation and improvement, rather than have made the fmalleft attempt to an increafe. Many, however, and powerful reafons, confpired to influence the adminiftration in the meafures they adopted: the neceffity of providing a certain fund for emergencies, in a country fruitful in revolutions, the certainty of no fupplies from home, or the other prefifiencies, and the probability of large demands from both; all pleaded powerfully for retaining things on the footing we found them, and for poftponing a relaxation of revenue, till thefe great purpofes were fully accomplifhed. The event has juftified our pre-conceived opinions, though the neceffities of the country remain unrelieved and unremedied. Diftreffed as we are, at prefent, for the means of the neceffary remittances to the Coaft and Bombay, for the provifion of future inveftments, and even the defraying of current expences, what muft have been our fituation, had our collections been lefs rigid and ample? Excufe me, gentlemen, for fuggefting here another reafon, not lefs cogent, though of a private nature: If, when your fervants have exerted themfelves in every extenfion of your revenues and inveftment confiftent with the immediate fafety of the country, all their efforts fall fo fhort of the ideas you have formed, and of the public expectation, what could they have hoped, had they framed their meafures for prefent retrenchments and diftant advantages? Might not your whole adminiftration here, with juftice, have apprehended their being facrificed to an irritated and mifinformed Court of Proprietors, who might have regretted the injury, when the reparation was beyond their power? Do us the juftice, gentlemen, to reflect how unreafonable fuch a rifk of our fortunes and characters muft appear after a tedious fervice, and the manifold injuries of the climate, more efpecially where our own opinions and integrity are all the evidence we have to produce in our fupport.

Permit me to give you my moft ferious opinion, founded on almoft nineteen years experience in the various branches of your revenues, and in various diftricts of your poffeffions, that it is totally beyond the power of your adminiftration to make any material addition to your rents, or remit a fingle rupee in fpecie home; and that, unlefs the moft efficacious and fpeedy meafures are entered upon by you to neceffitate the foreign nations to an importation of bullion, equal to the amount of their homeward cargoes, and effectually to divert the capital fums paid for their bills into the channel of your own remittances, money will foon become fo fcarce as to oblige us to collect many of the rents in the produce of the lands inftead of fpecie, and our

utmoft

utmost exertion of endeavours be deemed happy, if we can any ways gather together a sufficient supply of cash for the provision of your investment, and the current expences of this presidency. A reference to the immense drains I have mentioned, and a ballance of trade against the country equal to the sum of our vast investments, and those of all the other nations, will easily account for this distress, and justify my assertions.

The extent of the Dutch and French credit exceeds all conception, and their bills are even solicited as favours. The precise sums received by them for some years I have endeavoured to ascertain, though hitherto without success; but if we only form our idea from the bills drawn this year from Europe on individuals here and Madrass (exclusive of what has been received for bills on their Company) the amount will appear prodigious and alarming. Advices of draughts and letters of credit have been already received to the amount of twenty-eight * lacks of rupees on Bengal, and ten † lacks on the gentlemen of Madrass; and I have the most certain information that their treasuries at Pondicherry and Chandornagore are amply furnished with all provision for both their investments and expences for three years to come. You have often complained of the increase and superiority of the French, &c. investments; but your orders and regulations have furnished them with the most extensive means of both. It is in vain to threaten dismission from your service, or forfeiture of your protection, for sending home money by foreign cash, while you open no door for remittances yourselves. Such menaces may render the practice more secret and cautious; but will never diminish, much less remove the evil.

But it is not from their accumulation of money alone, both here and on the coast, that I think the French designs require a very serious attention; but because their preparations at the islands, and the number of ships they send out to remain in the country, leave us little room to doubt they are meditating an important and early blow in this quarter. How far the procuring a squadron of men of war to be stationed in India, is in your power, or consistent with your plan, I know not; but allow me to recommend it as a measure highly conducive to your security.

Though I had not, at that time, an adequate idea either of the opulency of the French, or so immediate a prospect of our own distress for specie; yet, with a view to restrict their supplies for the ensuing year, I formed a plan in the beginning of May last, for receiving all monies tendered to our treasury, and giving bills on Europe, payable in three annual proportions; the whole to bear an interest of six per cent. till such bills were granted; and the ballance, after the first year, to bear an interest of three per cent. till paid. The universal concurrence I knew the proposal would meet with, induced me to prepare a minute on the subject for the consideration of the Board, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose for your information, and proof of the utility of such an arrangement. Before we had any opportunity of entering on so important a debate, from the absence of Mess. Cartier and Becher, the arrival of your orders, by the Admiral Watson, obliged me to quit my former intentions, however thoroughly I remained convinced of their necessity. Had the resolution depended solely on myself, I would have risked your severest displeasure, from a consciousness of doing my duty, and promoting your true interest; but when your prohibitions were so positive, when your prejudices appeared so strong, and your confidence in us so small, could I have proposed to the Council drawing on you for 150,000 or 200,000 pounds sterling, when you expected a remittance to the amount of 500,000, without subjecting every member of that Board to certain disgrace, and dismission from you, had they acquiesced in my measures?

* 350,000 *l.* † 125,000 *l.*

But though it has been impossible for us, in our present situation, to follow your directions in the remittances of so large a sum in specie; as much, I think, as the power of men could effect has been done, and is still doing, to enable you to realize in Europe as much as possible of your property here. The mode, indeed, has been different from what you had prescribed; but, I flatter myself, it will be found, on trial, most beneficial to the Company's affairs, and the nation in general. If you will recur to the state of your investment four or five years ago, it will be found on an average, not to exceed 34 * lacks of rupees; the last year we provided you the amount of 64 † lacks; and I am in hopes to be able to transmit you, by the ships of this season, goods to the value of one complete million sterling. When it is considered, that this is an increase of of near 600,000 pounds sterling, that your possessions will be less impoverished by an export of their produce than specie, that the nation will be benefited by the duties on so large an import, and that the Company, instead of a loss of 20 per cent. on bullion, will reap a considerable profit on the sales of these cargoes, I doubt not our conduct and industry will meet your, and the nation's most sincere approbation.

To enable you to form the most perfect idea of the military improvements of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, I send you, by Captain Purvis, a musket, which was one of his first attempts; and also a lock, which is of his last and best manufacture.

H. V.

No. XXVI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

Fort William, April 5, 1769.

There has no material alteration taken place in the King's affairs, or in those of the other powers of Hindostan, since the date of my last letter. His majesty is still at Allah-abad, and has shewn some disposition towards a reconciliation with his Vizier, and honoured him with a visit of compliment at his capital Faiz-abad.

We have had some alarms of an intended invasion of Hindostan, by the Shaw Abdalla, at the invitation of the Raje-poot chiefs, in order to revenge themselves of the Jauts, for their unwarrantable attack of their country last year, under Jewhar Sing. Later advices, however, assure us, that he has been obliged to march back, in order to reduce one of his principal chiefs, who had revolted; and that the risque he runs of having his Candahar dominions attacked by ‡ Kerim Cawn, in his absence, will probably make him cautious how he ventures so far from his own frontiers.

Yet, though we have little reason for fears from abroad, the internal state of our provinces is a matter of real concern; and, unless provided for by speedy and effectual measures, they must moulder into ruin of themselves, without the intervention of any enemy. A little attention to the nature of the riches of Bengal, and a comparison of the various sources of wealth or distress in the former and present systems of government, will evince this beyond dispute. Though our provinces afford no gold, silver, or precious stones, yet the vast variety and abundance of the produce of the lands, and the excellence of the manufactures of the inhabitants, leave them no great occasion for imported commodities; and, at the same time, invite foreign merchants to purchase and export these goods and manufactures, from

* 382,500 *l.* † 720,000 *l.* N. B. These being Current rupees, are estimated at two shillings and three-pence each, ‡ The present emperor of Persia.

their

their superior cheapness and quality. I have observed, that the natives had occasion for few foreign commodities, either for convenience or for luxury, and, consequently, a very small proportion of their trade could be carried on by barter, and the rest only by giving specie for goods. The extent also of this traffic was prodigious; and besides the large investments of the different European nations, the Bengal raw silk, cloths, &c. to a vast amount, were dispersed to the West and North, inland; as far as Guzzerat, Lahôre, and even Ispahân. In proportion, therefore, to this diffusion of commerce, the quantity of specie in the country necessarily increased, the farmer and workman were enabled to answer the demands of government with ease, by the readiness of their sales; and every extension of industry at home, or trade abroad, was a new opening to an advance of the general opulence.

From this view, then, of the state of trade heretofore in these provinces, and by setting the sum of the charges of merchandize, and other necessary disbursements against the sum of the imports, it will clearly follow, that the whole amount of the trade of the provinces was a clear gain to them, by an exchange of their produce for bullion.

How far the imports and expences ballance each other, you have ample means of conviction in your own hands, by a comparison of your export goods and bullion with your factory disbursements, and homeward investment, till the revolution in 1757; and if they should prove so in your extensive commerce, the circumstance will hold much more strongly in the inland trade of the Mogul and Guzzerat merchants; who had the duties of the government to pay, and whose goods were transported chiefly by expensive land-carriage. If these facts are admitted, we can be no longer at a loss for the source of the prodigious ancient riches of Bengal, as there flowed in every year an increase of specie equal to the export trade of the country; and of the immensity of this, we must conceive the most consequential idea, when we find from the Pachoutrah or custom-office books, at Murshed-abad, that so late as Alliverdy Cawn's time, and after so many internal revolutions and foreign ravages, nearly the value of seventy * lacks of raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments, which were not registered in them, as being either duty-free, or paying at Houghly. Here then we trace the grand and true fountain of the wealth of these Subahs, and the splendour of their Nazims; but, besides this, there were also several collateral streams which served, in their turn, to feed and swell the principal one. The advantages accruing from so beneficial a commerce, enabled, as we have seen, the farmer and manufacturer to discharge their stipulated revenue to their prince; and these revenues again did not center, nor were sunk in his coffers, but returned through various channels into the general circulation. Large Jagheers were granted to men of noble families, or particular favourites; whole districts were allotted to the other branches of the reigning family, at a rate vastly below their real value: large armies of horse, &c. were maintained either for show or security, at an enormous expence; and even the luxury and pomp, ever customary among the potentates of the East, contributed in some degree, by encouraging a spirit of expence, and dissipating large sums among the people in general; which, if they had remained shut up in the treasury, would have been a loss to the currency, and no present advantage to the proprietor. By these means, therefore, and the advantage of trade already mentioned, an extensive and brisk circulation of specie was kept up every where; the farmer was easy, the artizan encouraged, the merchant enriched, and the prince satisfied.

* 875,000 l.

It would not be easy, neither is it of any importance in the present enquiry, to ascertain the precise æra in which all these began to decline; but so far is certain, that the decline was neither sensibly felt by the country, nor perceptible to us, 'till after the * revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier. This threw such considerable sums into the hands of the Company, as to render their importing bullion for their investment unnecessary; and the large fortunes obtained, in consequence, by individuals, who were precluded the course of remittance through your cash, filled the treasures of foreign nations, in exchange for bills on their respective Companies; so that, ever since the country came into our possession, they have been enabled to rival us in trade, in our own territories, with our own money.

The former channels then of opulence to the country beginning to stagnate, it was left to be maintained by the old stock of specie, which, for a series of years past, had flowed into it; and this, by a variety of unforeseen events, sunk more rapidly than, in the ordinary course of things, it might otherwise have done. The elevation of Meer Jaffier was attended with ruin to many of the principal families, dependent on the late reigning one; and much confusion and interruption to the trade of the country merchant, by advancing our interest therein, in preference to his. When a second † revolution took place in favour of Cossim Ally Cawn, he soon found the fatal tendency of this superior influence; his endeavours to put the other merchants on something of an equal footing with us, produced continual disputes between his officers and our agents; and the precariousness of his situation, with an ambition of rendering himself speedily independent, by a rapid encrease of military strength and finances, made him sacrifice the most opulent inhabitants to his avarice, and drain the country by every severity of exaction, to secure a fund for his future designs and exigencies.

From the best authorities I have been enabled to obtain here, and from the fairest calculations, it seems probable that Cossim Ally was the cause of a loss of near five ‡ crores of rupees in jewels and specie to the country, which he either expended in drawing Sujah al Dowlah to his assistance, or carried off and secreted for his future provision.

If we consider that the treasures of the Nizamut were so low, on his accession, that Meer Jaffier had been necessitated to cede large districts to us, in lieu of sums due, whilst his own troops were almost mutinous for want of their pay and arrears; and if, to this, we add that Cossim remained in quiet possession of his new dignity no longer than three years, we must at once see that this immense sum was levied immediately from the provinces in this short interval, over and above the heavy current expences, and be sensible how large a proportion this vast drawback must have been to the country's capital of specie. The § restoration of Meer Jaffier, and the grant of the ‖ Dewanny to the Company by his majesty, rendered the fresh imports of bullion, either by us or foreign companies, less necessary to the maintenance and prosecution of trade, from the same original cause which had existed in 1757; and the increasing restrictions and disadvantages with which the free trade of the native, Guzzerat, or Mogul, was daily fettered and loaded, succeeding that confusion which frequent revolutions had occasioned, either produced certain bankruptcies, or deterred the more circumspect from embarking at all in commerce to a certain loss. Here, then, the channel of trade, which had before poured the principal riches into Bengal, began to turn a drain upon it; the whole centered in the Europeans, whose commerce was, at all times, least to the advantage of the country, because their im-

* In the year 1757. † In the year 1760. ‡ 6,250,000 *l.* § In the year 1763.
‖ In the year 1765.

ports

ports were largeſt in proportion, and their duties leſs; and who, now, added to theſe a new loſs, that of making larger exports than ever, at the country's ſole expence. Of the deſtructive extent of this loſs, the following rough compariſon of the imports of bullion by the European nations, and their exports of commodities and bullion, for three years paſt, will awaken the moſt alarming idea.

IMPORTS.

	Rupees.		£. Sterling.
Bullion imported by the Dutch at the higheſt eſtimate during that term, at 10 lacks per annum	3,000,000	or	337,500
Ditto, by the French, — —	0,000,000		
Ditto, by the Engliſh, — —	0,000,000		
Ditto, by the Guzeratties, Moguls, &c. —	0,000,000		
Ditto, in gold from Baſſora, Mocha, &c. on private account, at 6 lacks per annum — —	1,800,000	or	202,500
Ditto, by the Daniſh Comp. at 2 1-half lacks per ann.	750,000	or	84,375
* Rupees,	5,550,000	or	624,375 £.

EXPORTS.

Engliſh Company, in 1766 and 1767, at the loweſt calculate, — —	10,700,000	or	1,203,750
Ditto, in 1768, — —	7,000,000	or	787,500
Ditto private property, at the rate of 5000l. per ſhip, and 5 ſhips per ann. for 3 years, at a medium,	600,000	or	67,500
Dutch Company, 1766 and 1767, 3 ſhips public and private, amount at the loweſt 10 per ſhip,	6,000,000	or	675,000
Ditto, 1768, 4 ſhips, — —	4,000,000	or	450,000
French, 1766 and 1767, 5 ſhips, at 10 lacks each,	5,000,000	or	562,500
Ditto, 1768, 4 ſhips, ditto, — —	4,000,000	or	450,000
Danes, 1766 and 1767, 1 ſhip, at 8 lacks each year,	1,600,000	or	180,000
Ditto, 1768, 2 ſhips, at ditto, — —	1,600,000	or	180,000
† Specie exported out of the provinces for payment of the king's tribute and a brigade at Allah-abad, at 50 lacks per annum, for 3 years — —	15,000,000	or	1,687,500
Private exports to China, at 2 lacks per annum,	600,000	or	67,500
	56,100,000	or	6,311,250
From which deduct the imported bullion, agreeable to the above eſtimate — —	5,550,000	or	624,375
And there remains a ballance againſt the country of rupees, — — —	50,550,000	or	5,686,875 £.

I do not, here, include the export trade in general of the private European merchants, notwithſtanding it is very conſiderable, becauſe, though they bring in little

* This ſtatement is in Current rupees, which are eſtimated at the exchange of two ſhillings and threepence each.

† The brigade accounts for one year not having been completed when this ſtatement of their expence was formed, this part of the annual drain of ſpecie was thereby rather over-rated.

bullion,

bullion, yet, as they import commodities equal to what they carry out, the country is neither much hurt nor much benefited by their traffic, till the merchant comes to realize his gains, in order for his return to his native country, and then the amount of them becomes an addition to the ballance againſt the country, by being paid into ſome European Company's caſh for bills; and, by this means, rendering it unneceſſary for them to import bullion at a riſque for the proviſion of their inveſtment. Neither do I include, in this account, the large ſums ſent by us to China, Madraſs, or other preſidencies; becauſe theſe reduced the Company's treaſury rather than the country, and becauſe they were equally loſt to the country if they remained in the treaſury, and did not enter into our diſburſements or inveſtment, as if they were exported. The King's tribute, on the contrary, and the expence at Allah-abad, are really ſo much loſs to the circulation, becauſe, as they form a large proportion of our neceſſary diſburſements, ſo being now made out of the provinces, they muſt be a ſimilar loſs to the current ſpecie. It will hardly be aſſerted, that any country, however opulent, could long maintain itſelf, much leſs flouriſh, when it received no material ſupplies, and when a ballance againſt it, of above one-third of its whole yearly value, was yearly incurred. But beſides this, there are other concomitant circumſtances, which have contributed to diminiſh the riches of the country, and muſt, if not remedied, ſoon exhauſt them. I have obſerved, that one great advantage the country formerly reaped was, the diffuſion of its revenues by large grants to different families, and by the expenſive luxury of its governors. But now the whole amount of the lands is ſwallowed up in one gulph—your treaſury; nor does any part of it return into the circulation, except the ſums iſſued for our inveſtment and neceſſary expences; ſo that there enſues an annual loſs to the currency, equal to the difference between the aggregate of the inveſtment and diſburſements, and the total of the revenues. This, if continued, muſt in time draw in all the ſpecie; and the only remedy for this evil is, either to encreaſe your inveſtment, until, with your diſburſements, it equals your revenues, or to import a quantity of ſpecie equal to the difference. The firſt of theſe, if practicable, would leave you without a fund for emergencies, by advancing the revenues to the Aurungs as faſt as they were collected; the ſecond, I am afraid, is rather to be wiſhed by us than to be attempted by you.

I have thus, gentlemen, attempted to lay open to you the true ſources of the ancient opulence of Bengal, and its preſent diſtreſs. Perhaps, you have never been led to conſider them in this light; but, I am perſuaded, an impartial examination will evince the juſtice of my arguments. Should they ſtand the teſt, they cannot fail of being particularly uſeful at this juncture; as they will enable you to apply a ſuitable ſupport where the weakneſs is pointed out, and to anſwer the objections and clamour of your enemies. From hence, alſo, you will ſee how much the advantages of your late acquiſitions have been exaggerated beyond all bounds; and how far from impoſſible it was for the Honourable Eaſt India Company to be diſtreſſed, though newly become maſters of the revenues of a country which ſtood rated at above three millions ſterling per annum. A ſuperficial, or weak obſerver, may eſtimate a country like an eſtate, from its rent-roll; but the man of experience and reflection will eaſily ſee that its annual income muſt depend on the proportion of its produce, which can be realized in ſpecie; and that the intrinſic value of it muſt fluctuate as the quantity of ſpecie, which is the meaſure of it, multiplies or decreaſes in the kingdom where it is placed. In this point of view, and after what has been already ſaid, I need no arguments to demonſtrate the reality of our preſent difficulties, and the certain proſpect of our future diſtreſs. I have already hinted my apprehenſions of your inability to increaſe your inveſtments of bullion, which are even now looked upon with a jealous eye by the nation; but it is ſtill in your power to oblige others to import it, or leave you ſole

maſters

masters of the Bengal trade. Large sums, belonging to your former servants, are still lying unremitted; and these must yearly encrease, by the fruits of the successful industry of your present ones. If you open your cash upon equitable terms for remittances for all sums tendered, both national and private considerations will draw all these into your channel, and cut off the grand resource and advantage of foreign nations, the rivalling you in your trade with your own money. I say equitable terms, because it can never be expected that any one will remit the produce of many years labour at so great a discount as one ninth part of his principal, below the par of exchange, at two shillings and three-pence per Current rupee; and, on the contrary, had you even raised the rate to two shillings and four-pence the Current rupee, instead of sinking it to two shillings, I dare aver, the Company, as well as the nation, would have been considerable gainers by the advance. We should then have been able to have sent you home, by the next season, an investment far superior to that of the present year; whereas policy, or rather necessity, must now oblige us to curtail it to forty-five * lacks. I need draw no comparison between the loss of one ninth per Cent. on the remittance, and the gain to you of one hundred and seventy-five per cent. on such an increase of import; neither need I suggest the difference it occasions to the nation, Company, and country, to throw so large a sum into the hands of their natural enemies, and lukewarm friends, by a mistaken and injudicious œconomy.

Do not, however, gentlemen, conceive that your servants here are so anxious for remittances through your cash, from any private or interested views. The remittances of foreign nations must always be more advantageous to them, because they will always keep their terms a little higher than yours as an inducement; and this must continue till yours are on such a footing, as to render a farther advance of their rate equal, or superior, to the insurance and interest on exports of bullion. Then we may hope for some supplies from them to this declining country; and, till then, our straights and poverty must increase.

We have sent you an investment this year, the produce of which will, we hope, answer every exigency; but we propose to lower the investment for the next season to forty or forty-five lacks, including the seven lacks, and upwards, now in your warehouses; and to appropriate the surplus for the establishment of a fund for our own exigencies, and those of the other presidencies. The necessity of this I need not enlarge upon; the arguments in a letter to us from the gentlemen of Madrass, dated March 1st, 1769, and the sentiments of the Committee in the last paragraph of their answer thereto, will, I apprehend, be sufficient.

The sum ought to amount to a † crore of rupees for this presidency, and fifty ‡ lacks for the supply of the treasury at Fort St. George; and I would recommend that, after the above fund is secured, the surplus of the revenues, or a considerable part thereof, should be employed on private security of the native in loans, for the cultivation of the waste lands; by which, in time, your whole possessions would become of real value to you, the country better populated, the trade increased by an additional quantity of manufactories, and the means of realizing your property more certain, and less detrimental either to the country, or the native trader.

As a present relief to the necessities of the settlement, at their universal request, and to supply, as far as possible, the deficiency of silver for the purposes of trade and revenue; we have found it expedient to re-establish the gold currency upon a new plan and standard, as the only remedy left us; and, I doubt not, but when you seriously weigh the arguments set forth in the resolutions of the board, you will approve the measure, and acquit us from all imputation of precipitancy or contradiction in our councils.

* Of current rupees, or 506,250 *l.* † 1,250,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.*

I did

I did intend to have entered on the ftate of your revenues, both as to the mode of collection, and the improvements of which it is capable; but, as I am now proceeding towards the * city, and fhall have an opportunity of feeing every thing adjufted for the Poonah, I have thought it better to defer it till the firft fhip of next feafon, when I hope to deliver it in perfon.

Since I began this letter, I have received intelligence of the retreat of the Shaw Abdalla.

H. V.

No. XXVII.

To John Cartier, Efq. and the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William.

Fort William, Dec. 16, 1769.

Before I put an † end to my long fervices, it is a duty I confider incumbent on me to contribute what I can to the future welfare of this fettlement and country, our Company, and nation. The experience and obfervations of more than twenty years may poffibly claim fome attention from the Court of Directors. I fhall make no other apology for what I now lay before you, than the warmth of my zeal for a fervice, whofe intereft I fhall ever fupport with a grateful heart.

The fubject is important, extenfive, and delicate; but as fo many and various reprefentations have been given of it, fome perverted by defign, others through ignorance, it becomes more immediately the duty of the fervants of the Company, who have had experience, to communicate, and the part of the Court of Directors to confide in them.

I fhall begin with a fummary reference to the moft interefting degrees and varieties of fituation, through which we have paffed from the original conftitution of the Company, to its prefent flourifhing condition; in the courfe of which many reflections muft needs occur to warn us from errors, and to expofe imperfections: nor is it furprifing that we fhould difcover many, where fuch a multitude of changes, connections, engagements, and occupations has coincided with the fuddennefs of our elevation, in diverting our thoughts from a more fettled contemplation of ourfelves, and of our own eftablifhment.

The afcendency of the Englifh in Hindoftan, is in the number of thofe events which are diftinguifhed by a feries of fortunate and unforefeen occurrences; not the refult of any fixed or connected plan of policy. A colony of merchants, governed by laws, and influenced by principles merely commercial, have acquired a political title and influence over a country, which for extent, populoufnefs, and annual revenue, may be compared to many the moft confequential ftates of Europe; that commerce which was once profecuted in fubjection to a tyrannical government, ever ready to take advantage of our weaknefs, and to conftrue the flighteft omiffions into encroachments, is now but a fecondary confideration; and the native authority being too weak to controul the power which our agents derive from our name, the rights of the natives have been generally fuperfeded. The fubftantial have declined rifking their property in trade under fuch difadvantages, and the poor and induftrious receive but a faint encouragement to their labours; we fee, we feel, the increafing poverty of the country, from the diminution of fpecie, as well as the flownefs and partiality of

* The city of Murfhed-abad, the capital of Bengal.

† Mr. Verelft refigned the government of Bengal, December 24, 1769.

its

its circulation; indeed, from the regulations we have made, examples we have ordered, and the checks we have multiplied, I flatter myself that the equality of commerce will finally be restored, and the spirit of monopoly be destroyed; but the body of the people are in a manner formed to wear the yoke. They possess nothing of the inquisitiveness of the European nations; and the most slender arts are sufficient to obscure their understandings, and fit them for implicit submission. Those among them, who attain to employments in our service, are generally men who have learnt so much of our manners as to corrupt their own, and joining an acute and versatile genius to abundance of low cunning, they scarcely want the consequence of the English name to prompt them to every villainy.

Whilst the native government retained its superiority, its tribunals were accessible; and though venality presided at them, yet some shew of justice was maintained, and, at times, redress might be procured. The native government is now fallen in the eyes of the inhabitants, yet such restrictions have hitherto cramped our proceedings, as to prevent us from taking that intimate part which our present character and dignity require. The dependents of this nominal government have been the only instruments which we could employ, either to repress the enormities of our own agents, or to obtain the good opinion of the country people. Their authority is, in general, overawed; their principles too bad to answer the former purpose; and their establishment and conduct too temporary and too weak for the latter; so that the English name has been only all-powerful to do mischief; and a mortifying spectacle of fraud and oppression on the one hand, and imbecility on the other, has been exhibited to us, without the power of interposing.

The consideration of these circumstances must appear to the Court of Directors, a principal object of their attention. A prudent decision thereon most nearly concerns the safety and prosperity of these important possessions. I hope, therefore, that my opinion in this place, will not be deemed unnecessary or ill-timed; there can be no doubt but the cause, which has thus frustrated the best inclinations, is interwoven with our original constitution, which must be enlarged in proportion as our sphere of action is extended, and our duty encreased; otherwise we can never hope to direct the application of our own power, and remove it from the necks of the poor and useful to the chastisement of the tyrannical and rapacious.

In the infancy of our settlement, with all our care and prudence, we could ill defend ourselves from the forged accusations or open attacks of the government; we looked no farther than the provision of the Company's investment; we sought advantages to our trade with the ingenuity, I may add, selfishness of merchants. All our laws were local and municipal, reaching no farther than our own exigencies and conveniencies; all our servants and dependents were trained and educated in the same notions; the credit of a good bargain was the utmost scope of their ambition.

No sooner did we begin to feel our own strength, than our successes followed one another with such rapidity, as to advance us from a state of obscurity or mediocrity, to power, affluence, and national reputation. At length we saw ourselves, though yet under the name of merchants, masters and administrators of a legislative authority: we began to plan, direct, and inspirit every measure of government, whether with regard to foreign treaties or domestic regulations. Wealth flowed in upon us from every side. Our investment was extended: we supported the whole trade of India; and, from our resources, gave security to it in every quarter. But this was rather a temporary than a solid situation; and we soon discovered, that though our acquisitions had been made in so short a space as scarcely to be paralleled, considering their immensity, yet a well digested system was necessary to introduce permanency

in our eſtabliſhment. The defects and imperfections of which were too apparent to eſcape our obſervation. Our dependents, accuſtomed to apply their talents to preſent gain, and to extract advantages from the ſmalleſt opening, aſſumed an importance proportionable to our ſucceſſes, grew immoderate, and diſclaimed their dependency on the native government.

In this ſituation we could not retract without expoſing ourſelves to a ſecond ſtage of obſcurity, perhaps lower than the firſt. Our circumſtances impelled us forward, and the grant of the Dewanny became as much an object of neceſſity as it was of advantage. Thus we inſenſibly broke down the barrier betwixt us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his obedience was due. Such a divided and complicated authority gave riſe to oppreſſions and intrigues unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and being removed from any immediate controul, proceeded with ſtill greater audacity.

In the mean time we were repeatedly and peremptorily forbid to avow any public authority over the officers of government in our own names, and enjoined to retain our primitive characters of merchants with the moſt ſcrupulous delicacy.

The conſequences are but too evidently exemplified in the decline of commerce and cultivation, the diminution of ſpecie, and the general diſtreſſes of the poor; a train of evils which could only have ſprung from the above cauſes, ſince every advantage of a long and uninterrupted tranquility has been on our ſide. Experience muſt convince the moſt prejudiced, that to hold vaſt poſſeſſions, and yet to act on the level of mere merchants, making immediate gain our firſt principle; to receive an immenſe revenue, without poſſeſſing an adequate protective power over the people who pay it; to be really intereſted in the grand and generous object, the good of the whole, and yet to purſue a narrow and partial end; are paradoxes not to be reconciled, highly injurious to our national character, dangerous to the beſt defended eſtabliſhment, and abſolutely bordering on inhumanity.

The people give us the labour of their hands, and in return we owe them our protection; common prudence, as well as the laws of ſociety, require that thoſe obligations ſhould be reciprocal, or the tie muſt ſoon be diſſolved; for the firmeſt ſecurity of every government is the affections of the people; and for obtaining them, there never, perhaps, preſented a more favourable opportunity, or more noble field, than what the Engliſh poſſeſs in Bengal. The mildneſs of our government, properly diffuſed over theſe provinces, will form ſo conſpicuous a contraſt to Mahomedan deſpotiſm, that it muſt bind them to us and our cauſe for ever.

I have hitherto conſidered our intereſt in this country as built on a precarious foundation, becauſe this cement was wanting to bind it; and, in this point of view, I am particularly happy on the late reſolutions which have been taken, to appoint Engliſh Supra-viſors, as an introduction to ſo deſirable an event. I could have wiſhed to have ſeen the execution of * the plan during my continuance in the government; but permiſſion was denied to me before, and a neceſſary regard to my health makes it impoſſible now; however, I have this ſatisfaction left, that if I may judge from the unanimity with which you, gentlemen, have embraced the plan, neither penetration to diſcern, nor fortitude to overcome, every difficulty will be wanting; on the contrary, I flatter myſelf that, by a juſt diſpenſation of rewards to thoſe who merit them, and timely checks on thoſe who require them, you will bring ſo great and good a work to its full maturity and perfection; a circumſtance which will reflect the higheſt honour on every individual, who has either the direction or execution of it. At the ſame time, I have the pleaſure to reflect, that every ſtep you take

* See this plan, a ſubſequent article in the Appendix.

in

in it will bring you so much nearer to the great end of security. For whilst the army is maintained on its present formidable footing, whilst you continue your attention to the defence of the place, and the minds of the people grow more and more conciliated and attached, you can have nothing to fear.

But there is a rock, and a dangerous one, which requires the greatest circumspection to avoid. We have stepped forth beyond all former precedent or example. We have the best and most laudable of all arguments to justify our conduct. But it should be remembered, that we have reached that supreme line, which, to pass, would be an open avowal of sovereignty. It should be remembered, that we cannot be more, without being greater than sound policy allows; the interests of our employers at home, no less than our national connections abroad, forbid it. If we were, before the change, cautious of interfering with the native government, and of awakening the jealousy of foreign nations, we ought now to redouble our prudence. The change itself, supposing the greatest forbearance on our parts, has an unavoidable tendency to destroy the name of the Nizamut; by which means, what might have been the happiest event for the Company and nation, may become the source of perplexities and jealousies, if not the deprivation of the Company's privileges. There is, however, a middle way, where moderation must guide and continue us; where we may walk with safety, advantage, and consistence, without danger of too much confinement, or too much liberty. Exteriors should be regarded as essentials. Every order should scrupulously wear the sanction of the native government. Our dependence on its indulgencies, our obedience to his commands, our delicacy to its ministers, should appear most conspicuous in all transactions, either of business or ceremony. I am not ignorant how difficult it is always to preserve and affect that temperate rule of conduct which I mention, when the power and direction of all departments so entirely concentre in your board; and may be still more dificult to produce a proper conformity in the Supra-visors: for these reasons I am thus earnest in my representations, and am of opinion, that the whole weight and vigilance of this board should be exerted to check the most trifling variation from the line, and to preserve the idea of the native government, its dignity and superiority over all, as entire and unimpaired as possible.

Without departing from these maxims, we shall have sufficient opportunities to answer all our views; our power will not be less efficacious, in being exercised with prudence. The Supra-vivorships will afford you a set of servants capable of succeeding, in their turn, to the first offices; that station will introduce them to a perfect knowledge of the laws and customs of the country; they will form a judgment upon the spot of the dispositions of the people; they will see with their own eyes the prevalent abuses of office, the villainy of agents, and, in short, the true spring of the misery or happiness of the country. Thus much may be advanced with confidence, that if this measure meets with the necessary support and encouragement, there cannot fail being a regular succession of able and vigorous administrators. The service, at present, affords many young men of promising parts and abilities. As the Supra-visorships may be called a nursery for them, in respect to the government of the country, so in like manner their experience in commercial matters, before they reach Council, must bring them acquainted with our commercial interest; and as these are the grand foundation and support of our prosperity, they must be deemed the essential part of their education.

But from what has been said of the characters of the people who are employed directly by us, or intermediately for us, every thinking person must be sensible of one capital defect in our government: that the members of it derive their sole advantages from commerce, carried on through black agents, who again employ a nu-

merous band of retainers; it is notorious that, at times, the agents of the lowest servants have domineered over the Ryot, and kept the officers of government in a state of awe or subjection; and it cannot be supposed that more respectable names are not equally misapplied. It would be as easy to change the genius and manners of the people, as to prevent the Banians, and followers of men in station, from abusing their masters' name. Chastisement may deter the oppressor for a moment; but, in such cases, the servility of the people must be removed, before oppression can be eradicated. Perwannahs have been recalled and suppressed; excellent effects will doubtless flow from it, but the idea of name and authority will still be held up by rapacious agents for their own ends. The conclusion I draw from it is this, that was it possible to form an administration totally free from commercial views and connections, restrictive laws would and must then have their course; whereas Banians and agents, by the spirit with which they act, and the force of their example, will always obstruct their good effects, and propagate a disrespect and delusion of them in others.

To form such an administration, I not only think possible but easy. I would propose that, from the admission of a member into Council, he put an entire conclusion to his trade; and, in lieu of it, that he receive a certain allowance, chargeable upon the country; which allowance should be augmented in proportion to the improvements made, and its internal prosperity: a method of reward the most honourable that can be devised for those that are to receive it, and the most beneficial to the community, being unincumbered with the consequences, anxieties, and relations of private affairs. The members of administration will have a more undivided attention to the public, and their orders be more thoroughly respected, and more vigorously obeyed.

I am come to an observation which seems to merit your particular attention. You are no strangers to a want of method which reigns in the affairs of this government. The whole weight of business is confined to two departments; the Committee and Council: our time is consequently taken up with debating, preparing, and dictating on the subjects which come before us. Our decisions are retarded, and the springs of government relaxed. The attention and memory are unnecessarily burdened: neither are these departments thoroughly defined or understood, if we judge from comparing different orders and paragraphs of their general letters. The Court of Directors themselves are at a loss where the precise line of each is drawn; sometimes attributing to the Council what belongs to the Committee, and again transferring from one to the other, without rule or distinction. It is well worth your consideration, gentlemen, to adopt some better plan for the ease of administration, and for the dispatch of business. This can only be done by dividing the burden, which now rests upon a single body, amongst separate departments, and bringing each object of deliberation into a compact compass. Was the number of the board encreased to fixteen, the business distributed to distinct Committees, and whatever is prepared in these inferior departments, finally referred to the President and Council, it is obvious how much utility and convenience would result from it. The Governor, who is the head of all departments, and ought to superintend the whole, would be much relieved from that intricate diversity of objects, which, as things are at present conducted, he is obliged to comprehend at one view, and that generally at a time when his constitution has been previously impaired by long residence in the climate. You, gentlemen, would meet, not to debate or to settle important forms, but at once to decide. Every member of administration would have equal and constant opportunities of seeing the whole progress of public affairs, and would acquire a general knowledge, which would qualify him indiscriminately for any station.

H. V.

No. XXVIII.

To John Cartier, Esq. &c. Members of the Select Committee.

December 16, 1769.

I have so much enlarged on the internal state of these provinces, in my letter to the Council, that little remains for me to communicate in this address.

Our political security has been acquiring fresh strength from every event which has happened around us, nor do I see any probability of its being shaken, whilst we continue to join moderation to power. There is not a potentate in the empire but has either courted our alliance or embraced our measures, and, this, without unsheathing our sword.

The King has lately affected great earnestness to undertake his favourite expedition to Dehly. But the lowness of his finances threaten his project with a very sudden abortion. The weakness of his disposition is no less evident in the administration of his domestic affairs, than in the formation of his political schemes. Perpetual changes of his ministers and confidants have bred an uncertainty and distrust in the minds of all his adherents, which has checked public spirit, and produced a general turn to selfish pursuits. With a treasury so ill supplied, and a court so ill affected, it is more than probable, if he should advance, that he will be preyed on by his own servants; and, being awakened from his delusion by a scene of beggary and contempt, will ultimately take protection in our provinces.

From these conclusions it was, I formed my opinion some months ago, when I acquiesced in his majesty's requisition of two battalions; and all circumstances since have served to corroborate that opinion. An occasion of demonstrating the sincerity of our professions, without subjecting us to any apparent inconvenience, were too inviting advantages to be neglected, and may be derived from our connections with his majesty.

As the necessity of retaining his majesty under our influence, or separating ourselves entirely from him, is a maxim in our system; and as the former seems most probable, we should be careful how we allow strangers to assume the management of his councils. Our conduct towards him is plain. We must either contrive to guide him at a distance, or so to palliate, that, if unsuccessful, he may consider us as his protectors, our provinces as the place of his refuge.

All things, at present, seem tending to the latter, and it is an event most to be wished; but I had rather his majesty should make the proposition, than that we should give the invitation. Disappointment may correct his impatience, and difficulties may teach him prudence. The treachery of Hindostan professions will prepare him better for the frank, plain declarations of his English allies; and there is the greatest reason to believe he will return to us with repentance.

The character of the * Nabob-Vizier was never thoroughly known till his connections with us. His enterprising genius, his high spirit, his plausible policy, are all sullied, if not entirely obscured, by opposite blemishes; for, with these, he is inconstant, ostentatious, and impetuous. His military spirit has received a severe mortification in the late defection of his best battalions: no doubt, it has abated the ardour of his expectations, and given birth to other ideas than those of foreign aggrandisement and conquest. Experience has shewn us, that this prince possesses no firm-

* Sujah al Dowlah.

ness nor solidity. However high his demands, trifling concessions, provided they speak to his passions, will mollify him. His expressions may be boasting, but they do not lead to action. If, therefore, we sooth his vanity, and manage his foibles in trifles, we may lead, or even dictate, in essentials.

There is something in the constitution of the Rohillas which must ever make them weak and inconsiderable as aggressors. Their government is divided into chiefships; but no one chief has, singly, troops or resources to enterprize a foreign war. Haffez Rahmet is too parsimonious. Achmed Cawn is too wise to quarrel, where the advantage is not clearly on their side; but, when attacked, their national affection will unite; the common cause will animate. A private contest will not rouse them, nor is it practicable to engage their voice on any other motive than the general safety.

Domestic disputes have given full employment to the Jauts, and afforded them little leisure to look abroad. They are divided into two parties; the one headed by the widow of Surage Mull, in favour of Rutten Sing's brother; the other, headed by some principal chiefs, in favour of Surage Mull's grandson. As the parties have, in a manner, divided the strength of the country between them, hostilities are yet suspended, in order, it is imagined, to gain time for soliciting and assembling their respective auxiliaries. In the mean time, distraction and disorder reign amongst them, with all the unhappy consequences of a rival succession.

The Nabob Nijib al Dowlah, is enjoying the fruits of his wise and provident measures, attending to the cultivation of his country, and securing the happiness of his people. According to present appearances, he has no designs of interrupting the public tranquility himself, or of encouraging others. A supposition, which I think much favoured by the perfect neutrality observed by him in the affair of the Jauts.

The Seiks are the Maharattas of the North. Like them, their sole profession is arms; their sole pursuit is plunder: but, their conquests having been rapidly made and extensively pushed, they are generally employed in quelling sudden insurrections of the conquered, regulating what they have got, and therefore incapable of concerted expeditions. That vast tract between Sirhind and Lahôre, which they have over-run, seems yet a wide field for them to range, and they will never venture beyond the limits of it, at least on this side, whilst Abdalla is constantly impending over them on the other. The well disciplined and veteran army of Nijib al Dowlah has hitherto been a sufficient barrier against them, in the same manner as they have proved an insurmountable obstacle to Abdalla.

That prince has more to fear from his neighbour and coward enemy, Kerim Cawn, than Hindostan from him. His large dominions, his celebrated name, can avail him little without money in his treasury. The figure he made in his late expedition was so disgraceful, and the dangers he encountered so dispiriting, that it has most likely checked his sanguine views; and, besides his poverty, he has jealousy and faction amongst his own servants to disturb his mind, and confine him to his own dominions.

The Maharattas have been long embroiled at home; and though peace has been concluded between Janoogee and Madhu-Row, there still lurks a suspicion which will chiefly direct their attention to the manœuvres of each other. I once flattered myself, that the former would have acceded to a treaty for the cession of Orissa, but his evasive and artful behaviour has convinced me that the Maharattas will never desert their old and characteristic manners. After three years negociation, much trouble, and some expence, no progress has been made towards a conclusion; on the contrary, he has studiously avoided any declaration of his sentiments. I would, therefore, recommend, that his Vackeel, who is now in Calcutta, may be immediately dispatched to him, to demand a categorical answer; to which purport, I have prepared and now lay before you a letter to Janoogee.

Thus,

Thus, gentlemen, I have described the situation of those powers by which the general tranquility can any way be endangered; and you will see, that personal weakness, civil dissensions, and political precaution, all conspire to establish our security on a broad and most durable basis. Leaving us, therefore, nothing to fear from Hindostan powers, there cannot be a more fortunate conjuncture for the execution of our plan, to make us prosperous and flourishing within ourselves.

On this head, I have delivered my sentiments with sufficient explicitness to the Council, but I must here add a few words to you particularly.

You are sensible that our name and authority are carried to the utmost line, unless we openly take the reins of the country government into our own hands. You are equally sensible, that to go beyond it will be to exceed the bounds of good policy, if not affect the very privileges of the Company. This Committee holds an immediate intercourse with the country government, and is indeed the channel of all transactions between it and our administration. To you, gentlemen, it consequently belongs to inculcate the principles of a delicate conduct, to uphold a most scrupulous observance of every form, and to indicate apparent dependence on all occasions.

I now take my leave of you, earnestly praying that all your councils may be united, your measures successful, and sincerely thanking you for the assistance and support which I have received from you in the management of this great and laborious government.

H. V.

No. XXIX.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated June 1st, 1764.

Paragraph 54. For the reasons given in our letter of the 8th of February last, we were then induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter, we must add one observation, which is, it appears very extraordinary that in a trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, the interest of the Company should not at all have been attended to or considered.

55. Those orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new * treaty you entered into with Jaffier Ally Cawn, upon his re-establishment in the Subahship, in which it is agreed, that the English shall carry on their trade, by means of their own Dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market-price; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, issued by Cossim Ally Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

56. These are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nabob and to the natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart-burnings and dissatisfactions, and consequently there can be

* This treaty, dated in July 1763, is a subsequent article in this Appendix.

little

little reason to expect the tranquillity of the country can be permanent; the orders, therefore, in our said letter of the 8th of February, are to remain in force until a more equitable and satisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which, it is impossible for us to frame here, destitute as we are of the informations and lights necessary to guide us, in settling such an important affair.

57. You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and the other articles, produced and consumed in the country, which may be most to his satisfaction and advantage, the interest of the Company, and likewise the Company's servants.

58. You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied with such explanations, observations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

59. In doing this, as before observed, you are to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the Nabob, both with respect to his revenues, and the proper support of his government; in short, this plan must be settled with his free will and consent, and in such a manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.

60. In the next place, the utmost care and attention must be bestowed in forming the said plan, that in some proper mode or shape, a just and equitable consideration be secured for the Company.

61. If any inconveniencies be apprehended to arise to the Company's investments, upon carrying on such an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

62. You are to give us your impartial and unbiassed thoughts also, whether the carrying on this inland trade may affect the just rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or any other Europeans, and tend thereby to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided. In forming the said plan, therefore, you are to be particularly careful to prevent these or any other evils of the like kind.

No. XXX.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated April 26, 1765.

20. We are extremely anxious for the arrival of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen who accompanied * him: as they have been so lately in England, they are the best judges of the opinion the Company and the nation entertain of the conduct of the English in Bengal, for these last four years; which, we are sorry to say, is in general, that they have been guilty of violating treaties, of great oppression, and a combination to enrich themselves.

21. We do not here mean to enter into a discussion, respecting the political conduct of our late Governor † and Council; but must say, that an unbounded thirst after riches seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants to that degree, that

* Lord Clive, with Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, and Colonel Smith, sailed from England in June 1764, and did not arrive at Fort William in Bengal, till May 3d, 1765.

† Governor Vansittart and his Council.

they

they have lost all sight of justice to the country government, and of their duty to the Company.

22. In reading the opinions of the several members of the late Council respecting illegal trade, by which they mean the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, we are astonished to find those among them who pretend to found their rights on the Firmauns.

23. Treaties of commerce are understood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then possible to suppose that the court of Dehly, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants? We do not find such a construction ever was heard of until our own servants first invented it*, and afterwards supported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent treaties with † Meer Jaffier, or ‡ Cossim Ally, which were never understood to give one additional privilege of trade beyond what the Firmauns expressed. In short, the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it, convince us that they did not want judgment but virtue, to withstand the temptation of suddenly amassing a great fortune, although acquired by means incompatible with the peace of the country, and their duty to the Company.

24. Equally blameable were they who, acknowledging they had no * right to it, and sensible of the ill consequences resulting from assuming it, have nevertheless carried on this trade, and used the authority of the Company to obtain, by a || treaty exacted by violence, a sanction for a trade to enrich themselves, without the least regard or advantage to the Company, whose forces they employed to protect them in it.

25. Had this short question been put, which their duty ought first to have suggested, *Is it for the interest of our employers?* they would not have hesitated one moment about it; but this criterion seems never once to have occurred.

26. All barriers being thus broken down between the English and the country government, and every thing out of its proper channel, we are at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from confusion; and being deprived of that confidence which we hoped we might have placed in those servants who appear to have been the actors in these strange scenes, we can only say, that we rely on the zeal and abilities of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee, to remedy these evils: we hope they will restore our reputation among the country powers, and convince them of our abhorrence of oppression and rapaciousness.

30. We have heard of such instances of the want of subordination among our servants, that we shall never think you are seriously inclined to introduce good order amongst them, until you have made some examples of the most violent and refractory amongst them, by dismissing them our service upon just complaints, and sending them to Europe.

No. XXXI.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Clive, dated April 26, 1765.

We hope the expectation of your Lordship's arrival will have had a happy influence on our affairs, by hastening the conclusion of that expensive war, and leaving you at

* Vansittart's Narrative, passim.

† The two treaties between the Nabob Meer Jaffier and the Company, the first dated in June 1757, and the second in July 1763, are subsequent articles in this Appendix.

‡ The treaty between the Nabob Meer Cossim Ally Cawn and the Company, dated in September 1760, is a subsequent article in this Appendix.

|| Alluding to the second treaty between Meer Jaffier and the Company.

 full

full leisure to attend to the establishment of a firm and lasting peace, to the regulation of the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and other articles; that it may be adjusted on such a plan to the satisfaction, and with the concurrence of the Nabob, as may redound to the honour of the Company, and effectually prevent the confusion and oppression that have sprung from the abuses practised in it of late years, to the reduction of our enormous military expences, to the establishment of good order among our civil servants, discipline in our army, and harmony in the settlements.

No. XXXII.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24, 1765.

10. Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of the most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabob's complaint, mentioned thus in your Consultation of the 17th of * October, 1764. "The poor of this country, who used always to deal in salt, beetle-nut, and "tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread, by the trade of the Europeans, "whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, and the government's "revenues are greatly injured." We shall, for the present, observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned in this trade, has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders. In your Consultation of the 3d of * May, we find, among the various extortionate practices, that most extraordinary one of Barjaut, or forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market-price, which you there acknowledge to have been frequently practised.

11. In your resolution to prevent this practice, you determine to forbid it, but with such care and discretion, as not to affect the Company's investment, as you do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from the Firmaun, which they have always held over their weavers. As the Company are known to purchase their investment by ready money only, we require a full explanation how this can affect them, or how it could ever have been practised in the purchase of their investment, which the latter part of Mr. Johnstone's minute, entered on Consultation the 21st of July 1764, insinuates; for it would almost justify a suspicion, that the goods of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company's investment: therefore, we direct you to make a rigid scrutiny into this affair, that we may know if any of our servants, or those employed under them, have been guilty of such a breach of trust, that their names and all the circumstances may be known to us.

12. We also order you to give us the particular instances which have confirmed you in your opinion, that the Barjaut has been practised, that we may know whose agents they were, and whether the agents who practised it were countenanced and protected in it by their masters.

13. Mr. Johnstone's minute, in Consultation the 21st of July 1764, cannot escape our notice, wherein he says, "The support of these and our other privileges in their "full extent, against the usurpations of the late Nabob, engaged us in this unhappy "war; and after so many valuable lives lost in the defence of them, I shall ever be "against parting with them, or hazarding the loss of them, without greater or better

* During Mr. Vansittart's government.

"cause

"no cause than has yet appeared, and till after we have found by experience that other "remedies are in vain."

14. As the privileges here meant principally relate to the unwarranted inland trade, in which our own servants have been so generally concerned, greatly to the prejudice of the Company, by involving their affairs in distress and difficulties, and manifestly injurious to the country government, to which every one of you cannot but be fully sensible, we say we cannot avoid taking notice of the said opinion, as by it Mr. Johnstone seems to persevere, at all events, to prefer the private interest of individuals to the general good, so far as respects the said inland trade. If Mr. Johnstone continues in these sentiments, as from the general tenor of his conduct we have too much reason to apprehend, he cannot but be looked upon as a dangerous servant; therefore, if he, or any other servant, shall persist in carrying on a trade, which, as before observed, has been attended with so many bad consequences, we would have him or them dismissed the Company's service.

15. We shall say nothing further at present on the inland trade, till that important subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Select Committee; only to observe, that the regulation proposed in Consultation 17th October, 1764, of confining the trade of our servants in the article of salt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murshed-abad, on paying the Nabob two and a half per cent. is a manifest disobedience of our orders of the 8th February, then under deliberation, which positively forbid all trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; nor does it by any means obviate the Nabob's objections arising from the distress of the poor, and the injury to his revenues; for if you pay only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it is as much a monopoly as ever.

No. XXXIII.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated Feb. 19, 1766.

21. No success in carrying on the war against Sujah al Dowlah to give his country to the King can justify the * measure. Sujah al Dowlah's letter of the third of January, offering to withdraw his protection from Cossim Ally Cawn, to enter into friendship with you, and join your army in pursuing him, was the opportunity that ought to have been embraced for putting an end to the war; that passed, your fatal engagements with the King were left to operate with their utmost force; all sight of the Company's interest was from that moment lost, and one error has plunged you into many more. The reply you make to the above offer of Sujah al Dowlah, when you demanded he shall put † them to death, we cannot suppose seriously meant; for if the law of hospitality forbad his delivering them up, surely it forbad his murdering them.

22. In Consultation of the 28th of January, mention is made of some subsequent letters from Sujah al Dowlah to Major Fletcher, which are but slightly mentioned therein, and appear no where entered on your correspondence; the only observation made on them is, that you were too far engaged with the King to recede. In the last letter we, in general terms, condemned this treaty with the King, and flattered

* Alluding to the "Proposals made by the king Shaw Allum to Major Munro, and articles proposed "by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King." The first dated November 22d, 1764, and the latter December 6th following; both inserted subsequent numbers in this Appendix.

† Cossim Ally Cawn and Somroo.

ourselves you would have seen the folly thereof, or Meer Jaffier's death or the arrival of Lord Clive would have prevented the execution of it; but being disappointed in our expectations, we now shall give you our sentiments at large. The dispossessing Sujah al Dowlah of his country, is, we apprehend, breaking down the strongest barrier we could have had against the Afghan Maharattas, and all the invaders of the empire, who were checked from penetrating into the eastern provinces by a power so respectable as his was throughout Hindostan. The raising the King on his ruins renders this danger still more striking, because all the northern powers are his natural enemies, being attached to the Vizier Ghazi ô din Cawn; and you own yourselves, in the reply to Mr. Gray's minute in Consultation 20th of Feb. 1765, that though the title to the crown is contested, all parties seem to unite in opposing the claim of him you acknowledge King; and it is to be feared they will come down upon him before his strength is confirmed; and thus you may have drawn the wars that have so long distracted the northern countries to your own frontiers.

23. We have no opinion that the King can possibly maintain himself without your utmost assistance; nor do we imagine Sujah al Dowlah is so reduced as not to make head again; and the result will be, we shall have a war to maintain six hundred miles from our own settlements, from the success of which no possible advantage can be derived, and one defeat may be the total loss of the provinces.

24. In your * engagement with the King we remark, the stipulation for the charges of the war was unsettled; and we have much reason to apprehend the whole expence will be left on the Bengal government.

25. We now come to consider the measures you † took on the death of Jaffier Ally Cawn. We could have wished the succession had been left undetermined until Lord Clive's arrival; but if it was absolutely necessary to come to a sudden determination, and that some one must be immediately acknowledged Subah, it was consistent with the faith we owed the father to adopt the succession he designed; and the inexperience of the young Subah considered, you did right to appoint him a regent; but in the choice of Mahomed Reza Cawn we think you passed too slightly over the charge urged against him, of being so very deficient in accounting for the revenues of the province of which he had been governor.

26. The ‡ appointing of independent Dewans appears highly improper to us; for it is intruding on the power of the regent, weakening his government, and tending to anarchy; nor can we conceive that any Englishman is master enough of the forms of government to undertake the dividing their departments without introducing confusion.

27. With respect to the ‡ treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah it is proper here to insert at length the 5th article, which was in these words: "I do ratify and confirm to "the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun, and several Husbulhookums, "of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dustuck free from all duties, taxes, "or impositions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which "a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly "market price." This fifth article is totally repugnant to our orders contained in our general letter, by the Kent and Lapwing, dated the 1st of June 1764, in which

* See "Articles proposed by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King, dated "December 6th, 1764." Also copy of the "Firmaun executed by the King, dated December 29th "following." Both inserted subsequent articles in this Appendix.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. The Nabob Meer Jaffier died in February 1765, and was succeeded by his natural son Nudjum al Dowlah.

‡ See "Treaty between the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah and the Company, entered into by Governor "Spencer and his Council, dated in February 1765," a subsequent article in this Appendix.

we

we not only expressed our abhorrence of an article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, literally corresponding with the present fifth article, but in positive terms directed you, in concert with the Nabob, to form an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations and remarks as might enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon. We must remind you too, that in our said general letter we expressly directed, that our orders in our letter of the 8th of February preceding, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and in all other articles produced and consumed in the country, should remain in force until an equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and adopted; as therefore there is not the least latitude given you for concluding any treaty whatsoever respecting this inland trade, we must and do consider what you have done as an express breach and violation of our orders, and a determined resolution to sacrifice the interest of the Company, and the peace of the country, to lucrative and selfish views.

28. This unaccountable behaviour puts an end to all confidence in those who made this * treaty, and forces us to resolve on measures for the support of our authority, and the preservation of the Company. We do, therefore, pronounce, that every servant concerned in that trade stands guilty of a breach of his covenants with us and of our orders; and in consequence of this resolution we positively direct, that if that treaty is now subsisting, you make a formal renunciation, by some solemn act to be entered on your records, of all right under the said treaty, or otherwise, to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and that you transmit this renunciation of that part of the treaty in form to the Nabob in the Persian language. Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the Firmaun, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade; and moreover we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants, and direct that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly; and every native who shall avail himself of our protection to carry this trade on, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the rest of the Nabob's subjects, shall forfeit that protection, and be banished the settlements; and we direct that these resolutions be signified publicly throughout the settlement.

29. With respect to the 11th article of the treaty, which settles the restitution for private losses, we gave you our sentiments on that subject very fully, in our letter of the 24th December, in which we remain confirmed, and our orders relative thereto stand in full force. We also continue in the same sentiments upon the donation to the navy, which we see is again taken up in the instructions to the resident at the Durbar.

30. We repeat that we have lost all confidence in those servants, which nothing can restore but a strict obedience to our orders, and a more *scrupulous* attention to the Company's true interest. In the mean time, and till their conduct shall have reinstated them in our good opinion, we must, and do rely solely, on our President Lord Clive, and the Select Committee, whom we do hereby invest with all requisite powers for securing to the Company all sums paid on account of restitution till our orders are known. We further expect that they shall give us a clear investigation of the motives that influenced the † Governor and Council to engage in a treaty with the

* See our Appendix, for copy of this treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. See our Appendix for copy of this treaty.

King,

King, so repugnant to our true interest. That they shall examine into the reasons of the Burdwan lands being let so low as thirty-two * lacks, when, by the accounts transmitted to us, the collections exceeded fifty † lacks. We also rely on the Committee to put a stop to the shameful demand made on the Nabob for the ‡ navy, and supported by the Council to their great dishonour. And if any further corrupt or oppressive practices come to their knowledge, that they suspend those who shall appear guilty of them, and give us the fullest information thereof. And lastly, we cannot avoid taking notice, that the late § President and Council, neither acknowledged the receipt of the covenants, relative to the receiving presents from the country government, nor have they taken the least notice of them; we hope there is no further meaning in this neglect, than the deferring it till Lord Clive's arrival; yet when we consider the total disregard of our most solemn orders on the most important subjects, we know not where their disobedience will stop.

31. We have received two letters from Mr. Spencer, the first dated the 5th February, 1765, the last the 14th March, copies of which we enclose for your information; as they both urge his own merit in so strong a manner, we find ourselves obliged to give our sentiments on his conduct in Bengal.

32. He came down to that settlement with the general good opinion of the world, and with our approbation of his conduct during his service at Bombay, with this peculiar advantage, that he was free from all the embarrassments and the party spirit that prevailed in Bengal, and had the plain part of the Company's interest before him. We shall, therefore, recapitulate the censure we have passed on that part of the administration of our affairs in which he was concerned, and which we take for granted he approved, as no dissent is entered by him.

33. The very same letter that carried his (Mr. Spencer's) appointment to the government, carried our most positive orders to put a total and effectual stop to the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which we expressed to be the source of the war, and incompatible with the peace of the country and the interest of the Company; yet in Consultations 17th October, wherein that order is taken into consideration, he signs to a resolution to carry on the trade of salt and beetle-nut, paying to the Nabob on salt 2 ½ per Cent. in direct breach of our orders; and in the treaty with the new || Nabob, he stipulates for that right by an express article of the treaty.

34. Although the ** treaty with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn was entered into before Mr. Spencer's arrival, yet he gave his sanction to every part of it, particularly that which stipulated restitution for losses, which, we make no doubt, he knew to be mostly sustained in an illicit trade, and preferring the interest of the servants to the honour of the Company, countenanced the aggravating circumstances which accompanied that shameful prostitution of our authority, in rising in the demand, till, by flinging in out-standing debts, it was carried to the exorbitant sum of †† fifty-three lacks; and Mr. Spencer, though no way interested therein, joined in the ungenerous proceedings, by which Meer Jaffier's consent was extorted for the payment of these demands, and in the treaty with the new Nabob, makes it an act of his own, by carefully stipulating for it therein; and, to our great astonishment, we see his name to consultation 15th November, 1764, wherein he engages the authority of the Company to obtain the sum of twelve ‡‡ lacks and a half for the ‡ navy; though, as far as

* 400,000 *l.* † 625,000 *l.*

‡ A demand was made on the Nabob Meer Jaffier first by Governor Vansittart, and afterwards by Commodore Tinker, for a present to be given to a small squadron of his majesty's ships then in Bengal, under Mr. Tinker's command.

§ Governor Spencer and his Council. || Nudjum al Dowlah.

** See copy of this treaty in our Appendix, dated in July 1763.

†† 662,500 *l.* ‡‡ 156,250 *l.*

appears

appears to us, the demanding this sum was a private act of his predecessor, unknown to him, but so strongly adopted, that, we see, he never loses sight of it, but makes the recovery of it part of the instructions to the resident at the Durbar, on the accession of the new Subah.

35. In the administration of our revenues, he has so overlooked the accounts of the province of Burdwan, that though it appears in them the Rajah collects fifty-one lacks of rupees ‡, yet he has approved the agreement with the Rajah for thirty-two lacks §, which is even lower than the preceding year; nor has he taken any notice of the sum of eighty thousand rupees ‖, applied to the use of our servants, under the head of Charges Residency.

36. In his letter the 14th March, he urges the general flourishing state of the Company's affairs as a matter of merit to himself, in which we totally differ from him, as he will learn from our sentiments in our letter of the 24th December, and the present; of which you will transmit him copies, as far as relates to the administration of our affairs during his being of our Council in Bengal.

No. XXXIV.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated May 17, 1766.

7. Equally politic and prudent are the concessions in favour of the King, whose interest was best considered by the restoring Sujah al Dowlah to his country, the only Subah in Hindostan who is ever likely to support him in his pretensions to the empire. The revenue agreed to be paid him, must be, in the eyes of the Indian powers, a mark of our respect to the royal blood, and an acknowledgment of his right. We approve also the being guarantee for Nudjeef Cawn, and finally we hope the moderation and attention paid to all those who have espoused our interest in this war, will restore our reputation in Hindostan, and that the Indian powers will be convinced no breach of treaty will ever have our sanction. We hope also, the fifty lacks, * stipulated to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, will be, before this reaches you, discharged, and his dominions entirely evacuated by our troops; and that none will remain under pretence of protection to the King's person, for that may lead to pretensions to support him in his claim to the empire, a measure quite contrary to our views, being determined to make the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the utmost bounds of our political views or possessions.

8. The article in the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, stipulating a trade duty free, through his dominions, we direct to be confined solely to the Company's trade, and even in that sense of it; we mean only if his dominions produce any goods fit for the European markets, or if it can be made the means of extending our trade in the woollen manufactures, or any other European goods.

9. We come now to consider the great and important affair of the Dewanny, on which we shall give you our sentiments, with every objection that occurs to us.

10. When we consider that the barrier of the country government was entirely broke down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority

‡ 637,500 *l.* § 400,000 *l.* ‖ 10,000 *l.* * 625,000 *l.*

that

that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression of the helpless native, who knew not whom to obey; at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company.

11. When we look back to the system which Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee found established, it presents to us a Subah disarmed, with a revenue of almost two millions sterling, (for so much seems to have been left, exclusive of our demands on him) at the mercy of our servants, who had adopted an unheard of ruinous principle of an interest, distinct from the Company. This principle shewed itself in laying their hands upon every thing they did not deem the Company's property.

12. In the province of Burdwan, the resident and his Council took an annual stipend of near * eighty thousand rupees per annum from the Rajah, in addition to the Company's salary. This stands on the Burdwan accounts, and we fear was not the whole, for we apprehend it went further, and that they carried this pernicious principle even to the sharing with the Rajah of all he collected, beyond the stipulated Malguzarry, or land revenue; overlooking the point of duty to the Company, to whom properly every thing belonged, that was not necessary for the Rajah's support. It has been the principle, too, on which our servants have falsely endeavoured to gloss over the crimes of their proceedings on the accession of the present Subah, and we fear would have been soon extended to the grasping the greatest share of that part of the Nabob's revenue which was not allotted to the Company. In short, this principle was directly undermining the whole fabrick, for whilst the Company were sinking under the burthen of the war, our servants were enriching themselves, from those very funds which ought to have supported the war; but to Lord Clive, and our Select Committee, we owe, that the Company are at last considered as principles in the advantage, as well as the dangers.

13. We must now turn our attention to render our acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them; this permanency, we apprehend, can be found only in the simplicity of the execution. We observe the account you give of the office and power of the King's Dewan, which in former times was, "the collecting of all the "revenues, and, after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient "fund for the support of the Nizamaut, to remit the remainder to Dehly." This description of it, is not the office we wish to execute; the experience we already have had in the province of Burdwan convinces us, how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts, to conceal the real value of his country, and to perplex and elude the payments. We therefore entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government, in the upholding the dignity of the Subah.

14. We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collections, and disposal of the revenues; which, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our Resident at the Durbar, under the controul of the Governor and the Select Committee. The ordinary bounds of which controul, should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Dewanny, or the Company, and this we conceive to be neither difficult or complicated: for at the annual Poonah the government settles with each Zemindar his monthly payments for the ensuing year; so the monthly payments of the whole from the Nabob's Dewan, is but the total of the monthly payment of each Zemindar; which must be strictly kept up, and if deficient, the Company must trace what particular province, Rajah,

* 10,000 l.

or

or Zemindar, has fallen ſhort of his monthly payments; or, if it is neceſſary to extend the power farther, let the annual Poonah, by which we mean the time when every landholder makes his agreement for the enſuing year, be made with the conſent of the Dewan or Company. This we conceive to be the whole office of the Dewanny. The adminiſtration of juſtice, the appointment of officers, Zemindarries, in ſhort, whatever comes under the denomination of civil adminiſtration, we underſtand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his miniſters.

15. The Reſident at the Durbar being conſtantly on the ſpot, cannot be long a ſtranger to any abuſes in the government, and is always armed with power to remedy them. It will be his duty to ſtand between the adminiſtration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's ſervants, which muſt firſt be known to him, and we rely on his fidelity to the Company, to check all ſuch encroachments, and to prevent the oppreſſion of the natives. We gave you our ſentiments on the office of reſident in our letter of the 24th December laſt, which were what we thought ſuitable to the office as it then ſtood; but now that is become of ſo much more importance, we ſhall leave the regulating of it to you, and deſire you will be very explicit on the ſubject, and ſhall only here fling out ſome few thoughts upon it.

16. We would have his correſpondence to be carried on with the Select Committee through the channel of the Preſident. He ſhould keep a diary of all his tranſactions. His correſpondence with the natives muſt be publicly conducted. Copies of all his letters ſent and received be tranſmitted monthly to the Preſidency, with duplicates and triplicates to be tranſmitted home in our general packet by every ſhip.

17. In the 39th paragraph of our general letter of the 24th December laſt, we expreſſed our diſapprobation of continuing a Chief and Council at Burdwan. We ſee you have already adopted that ſentiment in withdrawing that reſidency. We have been very full in our late letters on the ſubject of the Burdwan country, and Mr. Vereſt's letter of the 13th September gives ſtill more inſight into the affairs of that province; and as it has been from the tranſactions of that province, that we have acquired the moſt experience of the nature of the collections of the revenues, we ſhall give you ſuch reflections as occur to us on the ſubject in general, and on this province in particular. We obſerve that when we firſt took poſſeſſion of the grant from Jaffier Ally Cawn, of the Calcutta lands, we immediately turned out all thoſe men who ſtood between the government and the cultivator, and put the farm of the lands up to public ſale, in which we make no doubt our ſervants acted for our intereſt, according to the beſt of their judgment; but it appears to have been deemed by the natives an act of oppreſſion, and contrary to the cuſtom of Hindoſtan. However it was then a partial evil, confined to a ſmall tract of country; and the Company had this to plead in their defence, that their whole territory, lying near Calcutta, could eaſily be kept under the general adminiſtration of the Preſidency, and this might be very juſtifiable and very proper for ſo limited an object; but when large provinces fall under our government, ſuch as Burdwan, we do not think the ſame conduct ſhould have been obſerved, but you ſhould have made the beſt terms you could with the Rajah for the Malguzarry, or land revenues: particular local circumſtances might have required deviations from the general rule, ſuch as the incapacity of the Rajah, which might have been remedied by putting proper miniſters about him; but our ſervants ſhould not have interfered in the collections or civil adminiſtrations; and experience has convinced us, they have either erred in judgment or their duty to the Company. For after all the various experiments of putting the farms up to public ſale, by which means many families ſeem to have been

S utterly

utterly ruined of keeping lands in the hands of the Company, which you call Coss, and the various methods that have been tried; we find the collections brought to the Company's credit, for the year 1764, are five * lacks less than what were paid in Aliverdy Cawn's time in 1752. There is a passage in Mr. Verelst's letter very alarming, and which requires a full explanation; "I was greatly surprized to find, on my "arrival there, that it had been again exposed to public sale; however, purchasers "had only been found for about twenty-two † lacks, so great was the prejudice taken "of the former sale, and the whole of that very considerably under the Jumma-"bundy of 1769, excepting the farms lately held by Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and "Bolts, on which a greater advance was bid."

18. We have on a former occasion, in our letter of the 13th March, 1761, paragraph 57, permitted our servants to bid at the public sale of the Calcutta lands; but we could not conceive such an indulgence could ever be construed to admit servants, employed in the collection of the revenues of a province, to select out the most profitable lands for themselves, for such is the light in which this transaction appears to us, and it is one more striking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted, and of the ill use that has been made of every indulgence. We direct a strict scrutiny into this affair; and if it proves true, that you will make a proper example of the offenders, by dismissing them our service.

19. This transaction convinces us of the necessity of shutting the door to abuses; and we therefore positively order, that no covenanted servant, or Englishman, residing under our protection, shall be suffered to hold any land for his own account, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or that of others, or to be concerned in any farms or revenues whatsoever.

20. In the 30th paragraph of our letter of the 19th February last, we expressed our surprize that the covenants were not executed, nor any notice taken of them. Judge then what we feel, in learning from Mr. Leycester's minute on Consultation the 11th June 1765, that they never were intended to be executed; and we presume he speaks not only his own sentiments, but the sentiments of his colleagues, when he says, the covenants were rather the effect of party than the cool sentiments of his masters, and that it was probable parties would unite in abolishing covenants that could only injure individuals and do the Company no service. If our servants presume thus to call in question our most direct and positive orders, enforced too by the general voice of the whole body of proprietors, it is time for us to exert the authority vested in us, and to do justice to the injured natives, to our own honour, and to the national character.

21. The proceedings of the Select Committee have laid open to us a most complicated scene of corruption, in which we have the unhappiness to see most of our principal servants involved. Gentlemen who have served us in the highest offices, in whom we placed the greatest confidence, and to whom we had given the greatest marks of our favour; yet neither the ties of honour or gratitude could controul that unbounded thirst after riches that seems to have prevailed almost over the whole settlement, and threatened a total dissolution of all government. The principle on which these gentlemen justify themselves seems to be, that donations or free gifts are lawful when no interest of the Company is sacrificed to attain them.

22. We do not admit that donations are in any case lawful, without our consent and approbation. Our Governor aud Councils abroad are entrusted with the command of our troops and with all our influence and authority, to employ them solely for the honour and advantage of the Company. If they pervert the power thus

* 6,250 *l.* † 250,000 *l.*

trusted

trusted with them for the public good to their own private advantage, they are undoubtedly guilty of a breach of that trust.

23. Neither can we admit that the vast sums obtained on this occasion were by any means free gifts. The dependent situation of the Subah is itself a refutation of the plea, and his letter to Lord Clive and the Select Committee, with the concurrent testimonies of the Seats, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, together with the depositions of the several people examined on this matter, amount to the clearest proofs, that they were exacted from the several parties as the terms of the protection granted them. And lastly, we shall say a word or two to what those gentlemen vainly imagine makes strongly in their defence, that no interest was sacrificed to obtain them.

24. The Company were engaged in a war, which, as far as we can judge, cost them from ten to twelve lacks * per month; for which the Nabob had stipulated to pay no more than five lacks † per month, and even that fell in arrears. The Nabob was at this time pressed for payment of the remaining thirty lacks ‡ for restitutions, besides other unlawful demands on him. It cannot surely be pleaded that under these circumstances of the Subah and the Company, no interest of the Company was sacrificed to obtain them. We think these gentlemen sacrificed their own honour, the interest and honour of the Company, and of the nation.

25. We are sorry some of the gentlemen have thought fit to justify their breach of trust by a breach of orders, in pleading the covenants were not executed, therefore not obligatory; but so totally do we differ from them, that we think them not only guilty of a breach of those particular covenants, but also of the general covenants, which were entered into before these last were found so necessary.

26. The cavils and opposition of several members of the Council, to the powers and conduct of you our Select Committee, appear most evidently to have been calculated to screen and obstruct the enquiries into and detection of their misbehaviour; but we are satisfied you have had the real interest of the Company constantly in your view, in all your researches into the general corruption and rapacity of our servants, with the spirit and disinterestedness which do you honour, and merit our approbation.

* From 125,000 *l.* to 150,000 *l.*
† 6,250 *l.*
‡ 375,000 *l.*

Copies of TREATIES and GRANTS from the Country Powers to the East-India Company, respecting their Presidency at Fort William, in Bengal, from the year 1756 to 1766, both years inclusive.

No. XXXVII.

Treaty and Agreements with Serajah Dowlah.

Signed seven Times.

Munsur ul Malek Serajah Dowla Shah Kuly Khan Bahader HybutJung, Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible.

List of Demands.

1. That the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the King's Firmaun and Husbulhookums, and the Firmauns and Husbulhookums in full force.

That the villages which were given to the Company by the Firmaun, but detained from them by the Subah, be likewise allowed them; nor let any impediment or restriction by put upon the Zemindars.

Agreed to, according to the tenor of the Firmaun.

2. That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their Dustuck, do pass freely by land or water in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatsoever; and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c. offer them no kind of molestation upon this account.

It is agreed to.

3. That restitution be made the Company of their factories and settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbazar, Dacca, &c. which have been taken from them. That all money and effects taken from the English Company, their factors and dependents, at their several settlements and Aurungs, be restored in the same condition. That an equivalent in money be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered, or lost, which shall be left to the Nabob's justice to determine.

Whatever has been seized by the Government it is agreed shall be restored.

4. That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta in such manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obstruction.

It is agreed to.

5. That Siccas be coined at Allenagur (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Moorshad-abad, and that the money struck in Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshad-abad. There shall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.

It is agreed, that bullion imported by the Company be coined to Siccas.

6. That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and his prophet, and signed and sealed to by the Nabob and some of his principal people.

In the presence of God and his prophet, these articles are signed and sealed.

7. And

7. And Admiral Charles Watſon and Col. Clive, promiſe in behalf of the Engliſh nation, and of the Engliſh Company, that from henceforth all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe in Bengal, and the Engliſh will always remain in peace and friendſhip with the Nabob, as long as theſe articles are kept in force and remain unviolated.

On condition that an agreement under the Company's ſeal, and ſigned by the Company's Council, and ſworn to according to their religion, be ſent me, I agree to the articles which I have counterſigned.

Aez ul Malek
Morad ul Dowla
Nowariſh Ally Khan
BahaderZahooarJung,
a Servant of King
Aalum Geer the
Invincible.

Witneſs Mobindar Narrain Canongo.

Meer Jaffier
Khan Bahader
a Servant of King
Aalum Geer the
Invincible.

Raja Doolubram
Bahader, a
Servant of King
Aalum Geer the
Invincible.

Witneſs Lucki Narrain Canongo.

Agreement of the Company, ſigned by the Governor and Committee, the 9th February, 1757.

We the East India Company, in the preſence of his excellency the Nabob Munſur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader Hybut Jung, Nazim of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, by the hands and ſeal of the Council, and by firm agreement and ſolemn atteſtation, do declare, that the buſineſs of the Company's factories within the juriſdiction of the Nabob, ſhall go on in its former courſe: that we will never oppreſs or do violence to any perſons without cauſe; that we will never offer protection to any perſons having accounts with the government, any of the King's Taalookdars or Zemindars, nor murderers, nor robbers: that we will never act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the Nabob: that we will carry on our buſineſs as formerly; and will never, in any reſpect, deviate from this agreement.

Agreement of Colonel Clive with the Nabob, dated February 12, 1757.

I Colonel Clive, Sabut Jung Bahader, commander of the Engliſh land forces in Bengal, do ſolemnly declare, in the preſence of God and our Saviour, that there is peace between the Nabob Serajah Dowla and the Engliſh: They, the Engliſh, will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the Nabob: that as long as he ſhall obſerve his agreement, the Engliſh will always look upon his enemies as their enemies; and whenever called upon, will grant him all the aſſiſtance in their power.

Perwannah

No. XXXVIII.

Perwannah for Dustucks from Serajah Dowla, dated 9th Rajeb Moon.

The English Company's goods having been carried backward and forward by land and water, always through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by the Dustuck and seal of the said Company, by virtue of the King's Firmaun, which is also now confirmed by me. Take care, on no pretence, to interrupt their carrying their goods backwards and forwards through all the Chokeys whatsoever, and not to demand any Katbarra, Manjor, &c. according to the King's Firmaun. Let them pass and repass, without receiving a single cowrie from any of their people, and interfere not with the English Company's Gomastahs on any account, but rather take care that through all your districts their business be not obstructed in any way.

Fifteen Perwannahs of the same tenor and date were granted under the seal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla to the Rajahs and Zemindars.

Perwannah under the Seal of Nabob Munsur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla Bahader, Hybut Junk, dated 9th of Rajeb (31st *March* *) *in the 3d year of the glorious reign, Mobunlol.*

All goods belonging to the English Company, which, by virtue of the royal mandate, used to pass and repass with the said Company's Dustucks, by land or water, through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the same manner and with the same privileges as formerly: it is necessary that your excellency write to the officers at Dacca, Chittagong, Jugdea, Akbarnagur, Silhet, Rangamatty, Cheetmarree, Moorshad-abad, and Purnea, that they suffer the same goods to pass up and down the rivers without any molestation or imposition of Katbarra (a tax laid upon boats) or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor any ways oppress the Gomastahs or dependants. Let them be punctual in this.

Dustuck under the seal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla, &c. dated † *17 Jemmaude Sauni, the 3d year of the King's glorious reign.*

To all Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chokeydars, and Overseers of the way of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

All goods belonging to the English Company, which by virtue of the royal mandate used to pass and repass through the foregoing provinces, by land and water, with the Company's Dustucks, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the same manner as formerly, and with the confirmation of their former privileges. Let all goods, having the English Company's Dustuck, pass as before, up and down the river, without any molestation or imposition of Katbarra, or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor oppress the Company's dependents. In this be punctual. and act conformable to this writing.

Perwannah of the Nabob Serajah Dowlah to the Hon. Company, for erecting a mint in Calcutta.

From the date of the first of the moon Shaban, the four sun Siccas are begun to be stampt, and through all the mint-houses the new Siccas of the four sun are coined. Take

* 1757. † About the 9th of March, 1757.

Take care and erect a mint in Calcutta (called Allenagur,) and stamp gold and silver rupees out of the bullion and gold imported by your nation, of the weight of rupees of gold and silver coined at Moorshad-abad: under the name of Allenagur-Calcutta shall you coin your money, it shall pass for land revenues, &c. and no body will ask or set any Batta upon them; only take care not to coin the gold and silver of other nations.

No. XXXIX.

Treaty with Jaffier Ally Khan.

* *I swear by God, and the prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.*

Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, servant of king Aalum Geer.

Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive [Sabut Jung Bahader] Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.

1. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Munsur ul Malek, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

2. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, (the Paradise of nations,) and Bahar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

4. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one † crore of rupees.

5. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty ‡ lacks of rupees.

6. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty § lacks of rupees shall be given.

7. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven ‖ lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, (Sabut Jung Bahader,) and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

8. Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

9. All the land laying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zemindars.

10. When-

* These words were wrote in his own hand. † 1,250,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.* § 250,000 *l.* ‖ 87,500 *l.*

10. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

11. I will not erect any new fortifications below Houghly, near the river Ganges.

12. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid. Dated 15th Ramzan, in the 4th year of the reign.

Additional Article.

13. On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above articles, which the underwritten on behalf of the honourable East India Company do, declaring on the holy gospels, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader, with all our force, to obtain the Subahship of the province of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfill the aforesaid articles.

No. XL.

General Sunnud under the Seal of Jaffier Ally Khan.

To all Governors, Muttaseddees, present or future, all Naibs, Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chowdrahs, Canongoos, &c. servants of the government in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa.

Know, that by the royal Firmaun and Husbulhookums the English Company are pardoned (Maaf) exempt from all duties; therefore I write:

That whatever goods the Company's Gomastahs may bring or carry, to or from their factories, the Aurungs, or other places, by land or by water, with a Dustuck from any of the chiefs of their factories, you shall neither ask nor receive any sum, however trifling, for the same. Know they have full power to buy and sell, you are by no means to oppose it; you are not to require from the Gompany's Gomastahs the Settee, Manghans, or any other of the Zemindars impositions.

The Company's Gomastahs shall buy and sell the Company's goods without the intervention of Delolls, unless the Gomastahs are satisfied to employ them; you are to assist them on all occasions, wherever they buy or sell. Whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have full power to punish them. If any of the Company's goods are stolen, you are to recover the very effects stolen, or make good their amount. Any merchants or others, on whom the Company have any lawful demands, you are to see that the same be paid to their Gomastahs. Take care that no one wrong or oppress the Company's Gomastahs. You are not to require or stop their boats on pretence of the Katbarra or other duties on boats, whether they be the Company's own boats, or boats hired by their Gomastahs; you are to give credit to the copies of all the Sunnuds to the Company under the Kazzi's seal, without requiring the original. Any of the Company's debtors running from them, you are not to give them protection or plead for them, but are to deliver them up to the Company's Gomastahs. The Fouzdarry-Crutch, &c. impositions of the Fouzdars, which are forbid by the King, you shall not demand of the English, their Gomastahs or inhabitants. Whenever the English Company desire to settle a new factory, besides those they are already possessed of in the province of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, you are to give them forty Begahs of the King's land. If any of the English ships are driven by bad weather, or wrecked in any of the ports or other places, you are to assist them all in

in your power, and see that the goods are restored to the Company, and you are not to require the Choutarry, &c. which the King has forbid.

A mint is established in Calcutta, coin Siccas and gold Mohurs of equal weight and fineness with the Siccas and gold Mohurs of Moorshad-abad. They shall pass in the King's treasury.

All that I have wrote must be done; do as I have wrote, nor ask a new Sunnud every year. The 27th of the moon Showall, and 4th of the King's reign, being the 15th of the month of July, 1757.

No. XLI.

Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Khan, for the Mint.

To the High and Mighty, the bold and valiant Commanders, the greatest of Merchants, the English Company, on whom may the King's favour rest for ever.

A mint has been established in Calcutta; continue coining gold and silver into Siccas and Mohurs, of the same weight and standard with those of Moorshad-abad; the impression to be Calcutta; they shall pass current in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and be received into the Cadganna; there shall be no obstruction or difficulty for Cussore. Under the seal of Fidvir Aalum Geer Badsha Gauze, Sujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowla, Meer Mahomed Jeffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, 11th Zeerlaida, 4th of the King's reign.

No. XLII.

Perwannah for the granted Lands.

Seal of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan.

1170.
Aaulum Geer, Emperor,
fighting for the Faith, his
devoted Meer Mahomed Jaffier
Ally Khan Bahader Shujah ul
Muluck Hossam o Dowla
Mahabut Jung,
Anno 4.

Ye Zemindars, Chowdrahs, Taalookdars, Muckaudums, Recayahs, Marsawreans, Mootawettawahs, of the Chuckla of Houghley and others, situated in Bengal the terrestial Paradise. Know, that the Zemindarry, Chowdrawy, and Taalookdarry of the countries in the subjoined list, hath been given by treaty to the most illustrious and most magnificent the English Company, the glory and ornament of trade. The said Company will be careful to govern according to established custom and usage, without any gradual deviation, and watch for the prosperity of the people. Your duty is to give no cause of complaint to the Recayahs of the Company, who on their part are to govern with such kindness, that husbandry may receive a daily increase, that all disorders may be suppressed, drunkenness and other illicit practices prevented, and the imperial tributes be sent in due time. Such part of the abovesaid country as may be situated to the west of Calcutta, on the other side of the Ganges, does not appertain to the Company.

Know then, ye Zemindars, &c. that ye are dependents of the Company, and that ye muſt ſubmit to ſuch treatment as they give you, whether good or bad; and this is my expreſs injunction.

Twenty-four Mahals.
The Purgannah of Mugra.
Ditto of - Khaſſpoor.
Ditto of - Mudenmutt.
Ditto of - Ekktiarpoor.
Ditto of - Burjutty.
Ditto of - Azimabad.
Ditto of - Moodagotcha.
Ditto of - Putcha Kollu.
Part of the Purgannah of Shahpoor.
Shah Nagur.
Part of the Purgunnah of Ghur.
The Purgunnah of Karee Jurree.
Ditto of - Deccan Saugeer.
Part of the Purgunnah of Calcutta.
Part of the Purgunnah of Paikan.
Part of the Purgunnah of Munpoor.
Part of the Purgunnah of Ameerabad.
Part of the Purgunnah of Mahomed Ameepoor.
Mellung Mahal.
The Purgunnah of Hattiagur.
Ditto - - Meida.
Part of the Purgunnah of Akbarpoor.
Part of the Purgannah of Bellia.
Part of the Purgunnah of Buſſindarry.

Dated the * 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto.

(In the Nabob's own hand, ſerving by way of ſign manual.) It is written Finis.

(In Maha Rajah Doolabrum's own hand as Naib) Seen.

(In Rajah Raage Bullub's own hand, as Huſſoor Nevife) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, regiſtered in the imperial regiſter.

(In Rajah Conghu Baharree's own hand, as Dewan of Bengal) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, regiſtered in the Dewannee regiſter.

No. XLIII.

Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Cawn, for the Saltpetre of Bahar.

At this time, through the means of Colonel Clive, the ſaltpetre lands of the whole province of Bahar have been granted to the Engliſh Company from the beginning of the Bengal year 1165, in the room of Coja Mahomed Wazeed: you are therefore hereby directed to eſtabliſh the authority of their Gomaſtahs in all the ſaltpetre lands of the aforeſaid province, to give ſtrict orders to the ſaltpetre Picars not to ſell an ounce of ſaltpetre to any other perſon, and to receive from the Company the ſtipulated Nezzaranna and money for the aforeſaid lands.

On the 2d of the month of Rajeb of the 4th year of his Majeſty's reign, a copy was entered into the Dewan's books.

On the laſt day of the month of Jemmady-al-Sauni of the 5th year of his Majeſty's reign, a copy was entered in his Excellency's books.

Approved.

* About the 20th of December, 1757.

No. XLIV.

Sunnud for the Zemindarry of the Honourable East India Company's lands, given under the seal of the Nabob Allow ó Dowla Meer Mahomed Saddoc Khan Bahader Assud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.

To the Muttaseddees for affairs for the time being and to come, and Chowdrees and Canongoes, and inhabitants, and husbandmen of the Kismut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengal: Be it known, that in consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca, signed conformably thereto; the forms of which are herein fully set forth. The office of the Zemindarry of the Purgunnahs above written, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peshcush, &c. to the Imperial Sircar, according to the indorsement from the month Poofs (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the noblest of merchants, the English Company, to the end that they attend to the rights and customs thereof as is fitting, nor in the least circumstance, neglect or with-hold the vigilance and care due thereto; that they deliver into the treasury at proper times, the due rents of the Sircar: that they behave in such manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people, that by their good management the said Purgannahs may flourish and increase: that they suffer no robbers nor housebreakers to remain within their districts, and take such care of the King's highways, that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without the least molestation: that (which God forbid) if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, they discover and produce the plunderers and thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment; or else, that they themselves be responsible for the said goods; that they take especial care, that no one be guilty of any crimes or drunkenness within the limits of their Zemindarry; that after the expiration of the year they take a discharge according to custom, and that they deliver the accounts of their Zemindarry agreeable to the stated forms every year into the Dufter Cana of the Sircar; and that they refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the Imperial Court, the (Asylum of the World.)

It is their (the Muttaseddes, &c.) duty to look upon the said Company as the established and lawful Zemindars of those places, and whatsoever appertains or is annexed to that office as their right; in this particular be they strictly punctual.

Dated the first of Rabbi ul Sauni in the * third sun of the reign.

Let the Indorsement be wrote.

Particulars of the Indorsement.

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca signed conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kissmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peshcush, &c. to the

* Should be the 5th sun.

Imperial Sircar from the month Poofs (anno 1164) in the year one thoufand one hundred and fixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the nobleft of merchants, the Englifh Company.

27 Mahals

Deroobuft	Kiffinut
15 Mahals	12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account figned by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Form of the fign manual.

Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Sawal. The Zemindarry of the Kiffmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradife of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, having been conferred on the nobleft of merchants, the Englifh Company, the aforefaid Company reprefent that the inhabitants will not be fatisfied without the grant of a Sunnud, wherefore they defire that the Sunnud may be gracioufly allowed them, for which they agree to pay the fum of twenty thoufand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Pefhcufh, &c. to the Imperial Sircar. In this particular what are your commands?

27 Mahals.

Deroobuft.	Kiffmut.
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account, figned by the Canongoes of the Subah.
Rupees 222,958 10 12 3

N.B. This is wrote by the Royroyan.

Pefhcufh of the Imperial Sircar, &c. 20101 *Rupees*
Pefhcufh of the Imperial Sircar. Nezeranna Subahdarre. Vizier's Fees.
12101 5000 3000

Kiffmut Purgannah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum in the Diftricts of the Chucla of Houghly

26 Mahals

Deroobuft.	Kiffmuttea.
15 Mahals.	11 Mahals.

Amount 220,166 14 10 1.

Kiffmut Purgannah of Calcutta, Sircar Sautgaum Divifion 16 Annas.

Mahal Kiffmuttea.

Amount 28,482 6 13.

Belonging to the Company		28,361	8	10	1
Ditto	to Ramcunt	120	13	2	3

Kiffmut

On the 15th of Rabbi ul Sauni 5th Sun, a Copy was entered in the Dewanny Book.

D.

Kiffmutt Purgannah of Mugra - - - - - - - Sircar Sautgaum.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Kiffmuttea.
Amount 24,504 13 16 1

Purgunnah of Khaffpoor - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 3,337 3 2

Pergunnah of Mundemul - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 22,199 5 5

Purgunnah of Berryhatte - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 6,149 4 13 3

Purgunnah of Ekktiarpoor - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 7,923 1 8

Pergunnah of Deccan Saugur - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 60 7 12 2

Purgunnah of Shahnagur - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 283 7 14

Purgunnah of Azimabad - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 10,000

Purgunnah of Ghur - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 7,420 9 15

Pergunnah of Moodagotcha - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Divifion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuft.
Amount 31,793 10

Purgun-

Purgunnah of Peetcha Kollie - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust.
Amount 3,129 4 15

Pergunnah of Kareejuree - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust
Amount 562 8

Kissmut Pergunnah of Manpoor, - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 8947 10 1 1

Belonging to the Company	8856	3	1
Ditto Ramcunt	91	9	18

Kissmut Purgunnah of Paikan - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 12 Annas.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 6787 10 6 3

Kissmut Pergunnah of Amerabad - - - - Sircar ditto.
Adjacent to Chitpoor
Division 3 Annas.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 3650 10 9

On the 1xth day of Rabbi ul Sauni, a copy was entered in the books of the govern-ment.
(G Huzzoor or the Presence)
H

Kissmut Pergunnah of Havelushehr - - - Sircar ditto.
The village of Seenderpoor
No division.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 323 11 8

Kissmut Purgunnah of Mahmud Ameepoor - - Sircar ditto.
The village.
No division.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 184 5 10

Kissmut Purgunnah of Mob, salt and wax - - Sircar ditto.
No division.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 16702 13 1

Pergunnah of Hattiagur - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust.
Amount 22,119 7 19 3

Purgun-

Purgunnah of Meida - - - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust.
Amount 4,199 14 10

Purgunnah of Akbarpoor - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust.
Amount 2,228 15 15

Purgunnah of Shahpoor - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobust.
Amount 3,470 12 2 2

Kissmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree, &c. - - Sircar ditto.
No division.
2 Mahals Kissmuttea.
Amount 1204 12 18 2

Kissmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree and Peshcush Congo.
2 Mahals
Amount - - - - - - - - 1,174 11 16 3
Bherjy (transferred) - - - 30 1 1 3

Sairs Hettiagur, Meida, and Meidonmul, and Moodagotcha, belonging to Coot Ekktiapoor.
Division 3 Annas 11 Gendas.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 4,501

Kissmut Purgunnah of Bellia Busseindarree Sircar Sallemabad, named Sahebnagur in the districts of the Chucla of Burdwan, containing the Monza Bhilla, and all the lands lying on the east side of the river Ganges.
Division 10 Annas.
Mahal Kissmuttea.
Amount 2,791 11 12 2

Form of the sign manual.
After the receipt of the Muchulca and Zaminee, according to custom.
Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Huckeekut.

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the Glory of the Nobility and Administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, the form of which is herein fully set forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kissmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar, is conferred on the noblest of merchants, the English Company, who have delivered a Muchulca and Zaminee into the books, and petition for the Sunnud. In this particular what are you pleased to decree?

27 Ma-

Form of the Ferd Sowal and particulars of the Mahals have been written above.

Peshcush of the imperial Sircars, &c. 20101 *rupees.*

Peshcush of the Sircar.	Nezzerranna Subahdarree.	Vizier's Fees.
12101 rupees.	5000 rupees.	3000 rupees.

27 Mahals.

Deroobust	Kissimuttea
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

Amount, according to the account signed by the Canongoes of the Subah,

rupees 222958 10 2 3

Form of the sign manual.
It has been viewed.

Form of the Muchulca dated the

We the English Company do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindarry of the Kissimut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar, from the month Pooss (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal æra, has been conferred on us, to the end that we attend to the rights and customs thereof as is fitting, nor in the least circumstance neglect or with-hold the vigilance and care due thereto; that we deliver into the treasury in the proper times, the due rents of the Sircar; that we behave in such manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people, that by our good management the said Purgunnahs may flourish and encrease; that we suffer no robbers nor housebreakers to remain within our districts, and take such care of the King's highways, that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without fear or molestation; that (which God forbid) if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, we discover and produce the robbers or thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment, or else that we ourselves be responsible for the said goods. That we take especial care, that no one be guilty of any crime or drunkenness within the limits of our Zemindarry. That after the expiration of the year we take a discharge according to custom, and that we deliver the accounts of our Zemindarry agreeable to the stated forms every year, into the Dufter Cana of the Sircar; and that we refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the imperial court, the asylum of the world.

For this reason we have given this writing as a Muchulca and agreement, that upon any occasion recourse may be had thereto.

Particulars of the Mahals have been written in the endorsement.

27 Mahals.

Deroobust.	Kissimuttea.
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

Amount 222958 10 2 3

Form of the sign manual.
It is accepted.

Form of the Tomsook Hazir Zaminee, dated

I - - - - - - - - - - - do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindarry of the Kissmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, has been conferred on the noblest of merchants, the English Company; I being appointed the personal security for the said Company with the Sircar, do agree, and give this writing, that the aforesaid Company shall be present, and execute the functions of their Zemindarry; if they shall absent themselves, I will make them appear; but if at any time I am not able to make them appear, I will be responsible for their compacts: for this reason I have given this writing as a Tomsook Hazir Zaminee, that upon any occasion recourse may be had thereto.

Form of the sign manual.
Signed.

Form of the agreement for the Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar.

Account of the agreement for the Peshcush, &c. made for obtaining the grant of the Sunnud, for the Zemindarry of the Kissmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. in the name of us the English Company, for the year 1165, of the Bengal æra.

20101 Rupees Peshcush
Peshcush of the Imperial Sircar, 12101
Nezeranna Subahdarree, 5000 rupees.
Vizier's Fees,
3000
Rupees 222,958 10 2 3

Mem. Here follows, in the original, a description of the particulars of the several Purgunnahs as before specified.

No. XLV.

Sunnud for the free Tenure of the Town of Calcutta, &c. to the Honourable East India Company, given under the Seal of the Nabob Allah ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Saddoc Khan Bahader Assud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.

To the Muttaseddees for the affairs for the time being and to come, and to the Zemindars, and Chowdrahs, and Taalookdars, and Canongoes of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the districts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala. Be it known, that, in consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca signed conformable thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the rents of the aforesaid Mouzas, &c. which adjoin to the factory of the most noble of merchants, the English Company, amounting to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees, and something more, from the * 1st of Rabbi ul Sauni 5th Sun, according to the endorsement, are forgiven, to the end that they provide for the defence of their factory, and the safeguard of the

* Beginning of December, 1758.

ſea-ports herewith. It is their (the Muttaſeddees, &c.) duty to deſiſt from all claims for the rents, nor in any way, nor by any means, oppreſs or diſturb them. In this particular be they punctual.

Dated as above.

† Let the endorſement be wrote.

Particulars of the Endorſement.

In conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the glory of the nobility and adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca, ſigned conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully ſet forth; the rents of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the diſtricts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, and dependent on the Khalſa Shereefa, and the Jaghire of the Sircar, which adjoin to the factory of the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, amounting to eight thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſix rupees and ſomething more, from the ‡ latter ſeaſon of Oodaeel, in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-four (1164) of the Bengal æra, are forgiven the nobleſt of merchants aforeſaid.

Mouzas and Mahals 22 $\frac{1}{2}$

Mouzas 20 $\frac{1}{2}$, Mahals (2 Markets) 2

The amount according to the Ferd ſigned by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Form of the ſign manual.

Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Sawal.

The nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, repreſent, that the factory for carrying on their trade in the Purgunnah of Calcutta, lying near the ſea, and being liable to continual alarms and interruptions from the enemy, for their defence they have made a tank of water round their factory, and left an eſplanade on all ſides at the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot, and that the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the diſtricts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar of Sautgaum, belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, dependent on the Khalſa Shereefa and Jaghire of the Sircar, adjoin thereto; they requeſt that a Sunnud, exempting them from the payment of the rents thereof, be granted them. In this particular what are your commands?

Mouzas 20 $\frac{1}{2}$. Mahals (2 Markets) 2

Amounting, according to the account ſigned by Canongoes of the Subah, to 8836 4 3 2 rupees.

Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Calcutta. Mouzas with Kiſſmutteas. 12.

In all 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ Mouzas. Amount 2542 14 2 3.

† This is wrote by the Roy-royan.

‡ In the original Feſſet Kruff.

Kerria

Kerria Kiſſmutt of Govindpoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 338 11 16 2 Jaghire.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Mirzapoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 131 10 17 3.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Gunniſpoor, in the bounds of the Molunga of the Khalſa
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 171 13 19 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Chowrungee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 44 8 2 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhulland
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 227 11 12 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Jella Colunda
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 266 2 13 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhela Danghee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 582 15 6 3.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Anhattee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 184 13 16 1.
Kerria Salduah of the Jaghire
One Mouza—Amount 355 13 11 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Birjhee
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 63 2 4 2.
Kerria Kiſpoorperra of the Jaghire
One Mouza—Amount 191 0 5 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Serampoor of the Jaghire
Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 34 5 17 1.
Kiſſmutt Mouza of Dhellunt, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Paikan
Twelve Mouzas, including Kiſſmutteas, in all 6 ¼ Mouzas of the Khalſa—Amount 1894 4 2 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhellunt
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 253 10 12 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Soota Lootee
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 113 7 1 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt Govindpoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 161 3 13.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Chowrungee
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 97 7.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Mirzapoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 150 8 8 1.
Kerria Hocul Koorea
One Mouza—Amount 178 12 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Deccan Paikparra
Mouza of 2 annas—Amount 15 9 15.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhela Danghee
Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 156 13 6.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Anhattee
Mouza 10 annas—Amount 218 10 12
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Jella Colunda
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 147 2 16 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Birjhee
Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 227 2 2.

Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Serampoor
Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 123 12 7.
Mouza of Shimla, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Manpoor
Three Mouzas entire of the Khalſa—Amount 331 15 11.
Kerria Shimla one Mouza—Amount 121 15 3 2.
Kerria Maukhund one Mouza—Amount 180 4 13 2.
Kerria Audinghu one Mouza—Amount 29 11 14.
Mouza of the town of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Ameer-abad
Six and a half Mouzas and Mahals—Amount 4008 10 11.
Kerria of the * town of Calcutta
One Mouza—Amount 1376 13 7 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Soota Lootee
Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 1392 9 14 2.
Kerria Kiſſmut of Deccan Paikparra
Mouza of 14 annas of the Jaghire—Amount 479 2 2.
Kerria of Birjhee
One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 114 7 2 2.
Kerria of Serampoor
One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 50 13 15 2.
Market of Soota Lootee
One Mahal of the Khalſa—Amount 272 2 2.
Market of Govindpoor
One Mahal of the Khalſa—Amount 322 12 5 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Aboab Fouzdaree of the town of Calcutta, &c.—Amount 8 3 18 1.

Form of the ſign manual,
The Muchulca being taken according to the form.
Be the Sunnud granted.

Mem. Here follows the Ferd Huckeekut, and alſo the Muchulca of the Company, which are in the ſame form as thoſe in the Sunnud foregoing for the Company's Zemindarry.

No. XLVI.

A Treaty between the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan, and the Company.

Company's Seal.	Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader's Seal.

Two treaties have been written of the ſame tenor and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, and the †Nabob Shums ô Dowla Governor, and the reſt of the Council for the affairs of the Engliſh Company, and during the life of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the Engliſh Company in this country, this

* In the original it is Dhee Calcutta.

† Governor Vanſittart.

agreement

agreement ſhall remain in force. God is witneſs between us, that the following articles ſhall in no wiſe be infringed by either party.

1. The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader ſhall continue in poſſeſſion of his dignities, and all affairs be tranſacted in his name, and a ſuitable income ſhall be allowed for his expences.

2. The Neabut of the Subahdarree of Bengal,* Azim-abad, and Oriſſa, &c. ſhall be conferred by his excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader; he ſhall be veſted with the adminiſtration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after, his Excellency ſhall ſucceed to the government.

3. Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, a firm friendſhip and union is eſtabliſhed, his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

4. The Europeans and Telingas, of the Engliſh army ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and in all affairs dependent on him, they ſhall exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their abilities.

5. For all charges of the Company and of the ſaid army and proviſions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, ſhall be aſſigned, and Sunnuds for that purpoſe ſhall be written and granted. The Company is to ſtand to all loſſes, and receive all the profits of theſe three countries, and we will demand no more than the three aſſignments aforeſaid.

6. One half of the Chunam produced at Silhet for three years, ſhall be purchaſed by the Gomaſtahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the cuſtomary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts ſhall receive no injury.

7. The ballance of the former Tuncaw ſhall be paid according to the Kiſtbundee agreed upon with the Roy-royan; the jewels which have been pledged, ſhall be received back again.

8. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to ſettle in the lands of the Engliſh Company, neither ſhall the tenants of the Company be allowed to ſettle in the lands of the Sircar.

9. We will give no protection to the dependents of the Sircar in the lands or in the factories of the Company, neither ſhall any protection be given to the dependents of the Company in the lands of the Sircar; and whoſoever ſhall fly to either party for refuge, ſhall be delivered up.

10. The meaſures for war or peace with the Shah-zada, and raiſing ſupplies of money, and the concluding both theſe points ſhall be weighed in the ſcale of reaſon, and whatever is judged expedient ſhall be put in execution; and it ſhall be ſo contrived by the joint counſels, that he be removed from this country, nor ſuffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shah-zada, or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, we will (by the grace of God) inviolably obſerve as long as the Engliſh Company's factories continue in this country.

Dated the 17th of the month Seffer in the 1174th year of the Hegira, or 27th September, 1760.

Sign manual of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan.

This was ſealed on the 18th of the month Seffer, in the eleven hundred and ſeventy-fourth of the Hegira, and the propoſals are agreed to.

* Or Bahar.

No.

No. XLVII.

Sunnud under the seal of the Nabob Nasser ul Muluck Imteaz o Dowla Nesserat Jung, Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Bahader.

To the Zemindars, Canongoes, Taalookdars, tenants, husbandmen, and chiefs of the villages of the Purgunnah of Burdwan, &c. the Zemindarry of the Rajah Tilluckchund, in the districts of the Subah of Bengal. Be it known, that whereas divers wicked people have traiterously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects and waste the royal dominions; for this reason, the said Purgunnah, &c. is granted to the English Company, in part of disbursement of their expences, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand Sepoys, which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions; let the above officers quietly and contentedly attend and pay to the persons appointed by the English Company, the stated revenues, and implicitly submit in all things to their authority. And the office of the collector of the English Company is as follows: They shall continue the Zemindars and tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands, and deliver them in monthly for the payment of the expences of the Company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the king. Let this be punctually observed.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1st sun, answering to the 1st of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal style.

N. B. The Sunnuds for the Chuckla of Midnapoor in the districts of the Subah of Orissa, and for the Tannah of Islamabad or Chittagong appertaining to the Subah of Bengal, are worded as the above.

Sunnud under the seal of the Nabob Nasser ul Muluck, &c.

To the Droga of Chunam, to the Naib of Silhet. Be it known, that whereas the English Company are constructing a fort in Calcutta, and meet with great obstacles in finishing that work, in the want of stone Chunam; for this reason it is ordered, that of whatever quantity of Chunam is produced at that place, one half (the price thereof being received agreeable to the rate of that place) be delivered to the Gomastahs of the English Company for the term of three years, that no delays may be occasioned in finishing the fort aforesaid; and the other half is to be sent for the Sircar. Let this be punctually observed.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1st sun, answering to the 1st of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal style.

No. XLVIII.

Articles of an intended Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan Bahader, drawn up by a Committee of the Council in Mr. Vansittart's government, and dated July 6, 1763.

1st, To confirm to the Company the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Cossim, either by Jagheeree, Sunnuds, or such

ſuch deeds as may ſecure the property of them, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the Company for ever.

2dly, To ratify and confirm to the Engliſh, the privilege granted by their Firmaun, and ſeveral Huſbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which, according to a reſolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half per Cent. on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

3dly, That he do grant to the Company, the excluſive right of purchaſing the ſaltpetre of the province of Poornea; that he do alſo grant to them, for the ſpace of five years, the ſole privilege of making Chunam, in the province of Silhett; half whereof ſhall be delivered to the Fouzdar there, for the Nabob's uſe, at the rate which the prime coſt and charges may amount to.

4thly, That the troops of the Engliſh army ſhall always be ready to be employed in the ſervice of the Nabob, for the ſupport of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part ſhall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horſe, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues.

5thly, That wherever he ſhall think proper to fix his court, he ſhall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his perſon, for the ſecurity thereof, and protection of his government; and that a Company's ſervant ſhall reſide at his court, to tranſact any affairs between the Company and the government.

6thly, That the late Perwannahs iſſued out by Coſſim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly deſtructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun.

7thly. That the Nabob ſhall engage to cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta, to paſs in every reſpect throughout his government without any deduction, equally the ſame with the rupees ſtruck in his own mint.

8thly, That he ſhall defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the Company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment, and reimburſe to all private perſons, the amount of the authenticated loſſes, which they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country.

9thly, That for the former purpoſe, he ſhall give thirty lacks of rupees; for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

10thly, That the moſt authentic account of theſe loſſes ſhall be laid before a Committee of the Board; and that all ſums of money which may exceed the loſſes ſuſtained by the Company and private perſons, ſhall be faithfully reſtored to the Nabob.

11thly, That whatever treaſure or effects may be ſeized at Mongheer or elſewhere, belonging to Coſſim Ally Khan, the Nabob ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of, to enable him to make good the ſtipulations in the ninth article.

12thly, That if we ſhould not be ſo fortunate as to ſeize Coſſim Ally Khan's treaſure and effects, the Nabob ſhall aſſign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the ſums ſtipulated.

13thly, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the deſire of both parties, ſigned as guarantees, ſhall, after his reſtoration to the government, be renewed; and with regard to the French, he ſhall engage, that when they come to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in Bengal, they ſhall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, excluſive of their trading factories.

No.

No. XLIX.

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and the Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung.

Company's Large Seal.	The Seal of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, &c.

On the part of the Company.

We engage to reinſtate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, by the depoſal of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan; and the effects, treaſure, and jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan, which ſhall fall into our hands, ſhall be delivered up to the Nabob aforenamed.

On the part of the Nabob

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company upon my acceſſion to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, their Governor, and Council, as my own, granting Perwannahs for the currency of the Company's buſineſs; the ſame treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the ſame purpoſe.

3. I do ratify and confirm to the Engliſh the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and ſeveral Huſbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impoſitions, in all parts of the country, except the article of ſalt, on which a duty of 2½ per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

4. I give to the Company half the ſaltpetre which is produced in the country of Poornea, which their Gomaſtahs ſhall ſend to Calcutta. The other half ſhall be collected by my Fouzdar, for the uſe of my offices; and I will ſuffer no other perſon to make purchaſes of this article in that country.

5. In the Chuclah of Silhet for the ſpace of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my Fouzdar and the Company's Gomaſtah, ſhall jointly prepare Chunam, of which each ſhall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam ſo made ſhall be given to the Company, and the other half ſhall be for my uſe.

6. I will maintain twelve thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot in the three provinces. If there ſhould be occaſion for any more, the number ſhall be increaſed by conſent of the Governor and Council proportionably to the emergency. Beſides theſe, the forces of the Engliſh Company ſhall always attend me when they are wanted.

7. Wherever I ſhall fix my court, either at Murſhed-abad, or elſewhere, I will adviſe the Governor and Council; and what number of Engliſh forces I may have occaſion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they ſhall be allow-

ed

ed me; and an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the Company: and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negociate with the Governor and Council.

8. The late Perwannahs issued by Cossim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whosoever shall demand Batta, shall be punished.

10. I will give thirty lacks of rupees, to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war and stoppage of their investment; and I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses proved before the Governor and Council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country; if I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.

11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

12. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they shall pay tribute and carry on their trade as in former times.

13. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English agents and Gomastahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob aforenamed hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof; which were mutually done and interchanged, at Fort William, the 10th day of July 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. JOHN CARNAC. WILLIAM BILLERS.
WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

Demands made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, and agreed to by the Council, at the time of signing the Treaty.

1. I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement and kindness, with presents: I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union, and procure for me writings and encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English, and that every Governor, Counsellor, and Chiefs of the English, that are here or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me.

2. Since all the English gentlemen assured of my friendly disposition to to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I request that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill-will between us.

3. Let no protection be given by any of the English gentlemen to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts; but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I shall strictly enjoin all my Fouzdars and Aumils on all accounts, to afford assistance and countenance to such of the Gomastahs of the Company as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the said Gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner as may be an example to others.

4. From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of their Purgunnahs bordering upon each other, it happens that on complaints being made, people go against the Taalookdars, Ryots, and tenants of my town, to the prejudice of the business of the Sircar; wherefore let strict orders be given that no person be sent from Calcutta on the complaints of any one upon my Taalookdars or tenants; but on such occasions let application be made to me or the Naib of the Fouzdarry of Hoogly, that the Company may be subject to no loss or devastations. And if any of the traders which belonged to the Buckshunder and Azimgunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, let no one molest them. Chandernagore and the French factory were presented to me by Colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Khan: for this reason, let strict orders be given that no English gentleman exercise any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly under the jurisdiction of my people.

5. Whenever I demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent me, and no demand made on me for their expences.

The demands of Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, written in five articles, we, the President and Council of the English Company, do agree, and set our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th July, 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. WILLIAM BILLERS. JOHN CARTIER.
WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

No. L.

Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note, for the payment of five lacks of rupees per month, for the expences of the Company's troops during the war with Shujah ul Dowlah. Dated September 16th, 1764.

Account of money settled for the expences of the European and Sepoys, the artillery, and the raising of the cavalry, which shall be paid a month sooner or later, according to the particulars under-mentioned, from the beginning of the month Seffer (31st July, 1764, of the 5th year of the reign,) till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier; viz.

In the province of Bengal, at Moorshed-abad — —	300,000
In the province of Bahar, at Patna — — —	200,000
Total rupees	500,000

Written

Written the 19th of Rabbi ul Awvul, the 5th year of the Jaloos, (16th September 1764.)

N. B. I will include in the aforesaid sum, whatever balance may be due from me on account of my former agreement with the Company.

No. LI.

A.

Proposals made by the King Shah Aalum, and enclosed in a letter from Major Hector Munro to the President and Council at Bengal, dated from the camp at Benares, the 22d of November, 1764.

If this country is to be kept, put me in possession of it, and leave a small detachment of the troops with me, to show that I am protected by the English, and they shall be at my expence, that if any enemy come at any time against me, I will make such connections in the country that with my own troops, and the aforementioned small detachment, will defend the country, without any farther assistance from the English, and I will pay them of the revenues of the country what sum they shall demand yearly. If the English will, contrary to their interest, make peace with the Vizier, I will go to Dehly, for I cannot think of returning again into the hands of a man who has used me so ill. I have no friends I depend on more than the English; their former behaviour to me will make me ever respect and regard them; now is their time to be in possession of a country abounding with riches and treasure: I shall be satisfied with whatever share they please of it. The Rohillas were always enemies to the imperious Vizier, they are all my friends.

B.

Articles to be executed by the King, inclosed in a letter from the President and Council at Bengal, to Major Hector Monro, commander in chief of the army; sent the 6th December 1764.

In consideration of the assistance and fidelity of the English Company, which has freed us from the inconveniencies we laboured under, and strengthened the foundations of the empire which God has given us, we have been graciously pleased to grant to the English Company our royal favours according to the following articles, which shall remain firm both in present and in future.

As the English Company have been put to a great expence, and their affairs exposed to danger, by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, unjustly and contrary to our royal pleasure waged against them; we have therefore assigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the rest of the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof, we have given to their disposal, in the same manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the chiefs of the English Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company; and the amount shall not belong to the books of the royal revenue, but shall be expunged from them. The army of the English Company having joined our standard, shall put us in possession of Allah-abad, and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting those of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, shall be in our entire management and disposal.

As the English Company will be at a further expence in putting us in possession of Allaha-bad, and the rest of the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, we will therefore, as we get possession, grant to them out of our treasury, such a proportion of the revenues as the exigencies of our affairs will admit of; and when we are put in full possession, we will reimburse the whole expences of the Company in this business, from the time of their joining our royal standard.

C.

Firmaun, executed by the King. Dated December 29th, 1764.

As the English Company have been put to great expence, and their affairs exposed to danger by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla unjustly and contrary to our royal pleasure waged against them; we have therefore assigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the rest of the Zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof we have given to their disposal, in the same manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the chiefs of the English Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company.

The army of the English Company having joined our standard, shall put us in possession of Allah-abad and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting those of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, shall be in our entire management and disposal.

It becomes the Company to shew their grateful sense of our royal favours, and to exert themselves to the utmost in the proper management and regulation of the country, to encourage and befriend our subjects, to punish the contentious, and expel the rebellious from their territories. They must use their best endeavours to promote the welfare of our people, the Ryots and other inhabitants, to prohibit the use of things of an intoxicating nature, and such as are forbidden by the law of God; in driving out enemies, in deciding causes, and settling matters agreeably to the rules of Mahomed and the law of the empire, so that the inhabitants may apply themselves, with peace of mind and satisfaction, to the cultivation of the country, and the exercise of other their professions, and that the weak may not labour under oppression and violence. They will consider these as our strict injunctions.

Written on the 4th day of Rejub, the 6th year of the reign. December 29th, 1764.

No. LII.

Articles of a treaty and agreement concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla. Dated in February 1765.

On the Part of the Company.

We the Governor and Council do engage to secure to the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, the Subahdarree of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and to support him therein with the Company's forces against all his enemies. We will also at all times keep up such force as may be necessary, effectually to assist and support him in the defence of the provinces; and as our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have, and less expensive to him, he need therefore entertain none but such

such as are requisite for the support of the civil officers of his government, and the business of his collections through the different districts.

We do further promise, that, in consideration the Nabob shall continue to assist in defraying the extraordinary expences of the war now carrying on against Shujah ul Dowla, with five lacks of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his * father, that whatever sums may be hereafter received of the King, on account of our assistance afforded him in the war, shall be repaid to the Nabob.

On the Part of the Nabob.

In consideration of the assistance the Governor and Council have agreed to afford, in securing to me the succession in the Subahdarree of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, heretofore held by my father, the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, and supporting me in it against all my enemies, I do agree and bind myself to the faithful performance of the following articles.

1st. The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company † upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company and of their Governor and Council as his own, and granting Purwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the same treaty, as far as is consistent with the articles hereafter agreed to, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

2. Considering the weighty charge of government, and how essential it is for myself, for the welfare of the country, and for the Company's business, that I should have a person who has had experience therein to advise and assist me, I do agree to have one fixed with me, with the advice of the Governor and Council, in the station of Naib Subah, who shall accordingly have, immediately under me, the chief management of all affairs: And as Mahomed Reza Khan, the Naib of Dacca, has in every respect my approbation, and that of the Governor and Council, I do further agree, that this trust shall be conferred on him; and I will not displace him without the acquiescence of those gentlemen: And in case any alteration in this appointment should hereafter appear adviseable, that Mahomed Reza Khan, provided he has acquitted himself with fidelity in his administration, shall, in such case, be reinstated in the Naibship of Dacca, with the same authority as heretofore.

3. The business of the collections of the revenues shall, under the Naib Subah, be divided into two or more branches as may appear proper: And as I have the fullest dependence and confidence on the attachment of the English, and their regard to my interest and dignity, and am desirous of giving them every testimony thereof, I do further consent, that the appointment and dismission of the Muttaseddees of those branches, and the allotment of their several districts, shall be with the approbation of the Governor and Council. And considering how much men of my rank and station are obliged to trust to the eyes and recommendations of the servants about them, and how liable to be deceived, it is my further will, that the Governor and Council shall be at liberty to object and point out to me when improper people are entrusted, or where my officers and subjects are oppressed; and I will pay a proper regard to such representations, that my affairs may be conducted with honour, my people every where be happy, and their grievances be redressed.

4. I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed resource for defraying the ordinary expences of their troops, the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father‡. The sum of five lacks of Sicca rupees per month for their maintenance, was further agreed to be paid by my father; I agree to pay the same out of my treasury, whilst the exigency for keeping up so large an army continues. When the Company's occasions will admit a diminution of the

* Appendix, No. 50. † Appendix, No. 39 ‡ Appendix, No. 49.

the expences they are put to, on account of those troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from such a proportion of this assignment, as the increased expences incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the defence of the provinces will admit of; and as I esteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto and as my own, I will only maintain such as are immediately necessary for the dignity of my person and government, and the business of my collections throughout the provinces.

5. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and several Husbulhookums of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which a duty of 2½ per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

6. I give to the Company the liberty of purchasing half the saltpetre produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta: the other half shall be collected by my Fouzdar for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other persons to make purchases of this article in that country.

7. In the Chucklah of Silhet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1171, my Fouzdar, and a Gomastah on the part of the Company, shall jointly provide Chunam; of which each shall defray half the expence, and half the Chunam so made, shall be given to the Company.

8. Although I should occasionally remove to other places in the provinces, I agree that the books of the Sircar shall be always kept, and the business conducted at Moorshed-abad, and that shall as heretofore be the seat of my government: And wherever I am, I consent that an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the Company; and that a person of high rank shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whosoever shall demand Batta, shall be punished. The annual loss on coinage by the fall of Batta, on the issuing of the new Siccas, is a very heavy grievance to the country; and after mature consideration, I will, in concert with the Governor and Council, pursue whatever may appear the best method for remedying it.

10. I will allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in my service; and if there already be any, they shall be immediately dismissed.

11. The Kistbundee for payment of the restitution to the sufferers in the late troubles, as executed by my father, I will see faithfully paid; no delays shall be made in this business.

12. I confirm and will abide by the treaty which my father formerly made with the Dutch.

13. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

14. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English Gomastahs and my officers in the different parts of the country.

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob before named has set his hand and seal to another part.

(A true copy.)

W. MAJENDIE, Secretary.

Mem. This treaty was executed by the President and Council of Fort William, on the 20th February 1765, and by the Nabob on the 25th of the same month.

No.

No. LIII.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, to the Company. Dated August 12th, 1765.

At this happy time our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That whereas in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from * the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift, and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court; it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar; and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requisite that our royal descendents the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them, as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th Aug. 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign manual, our royal commands are issued, That in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court, on condition of their being security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a-year, for our royal revenue; which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader; and after remitting the royal revenue, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut, whatsoever may remain we have granted to the said Company.

The Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.
The Dewannee of the Province of Bahar.
The Dewannee of the Province of Orissa.

Fir-

No. LIV.

Firmaun from the King Shah Allum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That in consideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of Khalsa Shereefa, of the province of Bengal (the Paradise of the Earth), with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos,
(the 12th of Aug. 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Bengal, (the Paradise of the Earth) with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year, 1172.

Fort William, 30th September 1765.

(A true Copy)

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LV.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewanny of the province of Bahar.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued, That in consideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of

of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption; and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau, to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LVI.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Orissa.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That in consideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Orissa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their con-

constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption; and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Orissa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau, to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LVII.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, confirming to the Company the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs Meer Cossim Ally Khan, and Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, dated August 12th, 1765.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and also the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company) which were granted to the said Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceased; we, in consideration of the attachment of the said Company, have been graciously pleased to confirm to them, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Saltanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said districts and Purgunnahs in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all manner of customs and demands.

mands. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos. (the 12th August, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, our royal commands are issued, that the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and also the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the English Company) which were granted to the said Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceased, be confirmed to the said Company, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person.

Chuclah of Burdwan.
Chuclah of Midnapore.
Chuclah of Chittagong.

The twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the English Company.)

Fort William, September 30th, 1765,

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LVIII.

Treaty between the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company, executed at Illah-abad, August 16th, 1765.

(Sealed and approved by the King.)

Whereas the right honorable Robert Lord Clive, Baron Clive of Plassey, Knight companion of the most honourable order of the Bath, major-general and commander of the forces, President of the Council, and Governor of Fort William, and of all the settlements belonging to the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and John Carnac, Esquire, brigadier-general, colonel in the service of the said Company, and commanding officer of their forces upon the Bengal establishment, are invested with full and ample powers, on the behalf of his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and likewise on behalf of the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to negociate, settle, and finally to conclude a firm and lasting peace with his highness the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, Vizier of the empire: Be it known to all those, to whom it may or shall in any manner belong, that the above named plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles, with his highness.

1. A perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union shall be established between his highness Shujah ul Dowla and his heirs on the one part, and his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English East India Company on the other, so that the said contracting powers shall give the greatest attention to maintain

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tain between themselves, their dominions and their subjects, this reciprocal friendship, without permitting on either side any kind of hostilities to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union now happily established.

2. In case the dominions of his highness Shujah ul Dowla shall at any time hereafter be attacked, his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company, shall assist him with a part or the whole of their forces, according to the exigency of his affairs, and so far as may be consistent with their own security; and if the dominions of his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, or the English Company, shall be attacked, his highness shall in like manner assist them with a part, or the whole of his forces: in the case of the English Company's forces being employed in his highness's service, the extraordinary expence of the same is to be defrayed by him.

3. His highness solemnly engages never to entertain or receive Cossim Ally Khan, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sombroo the assassin of the English, nor any of the European deserters within his dominions, nor to give the least countenance, support, or protection to them: he likewise solemnly engages to deliver up to the English whatever Europeans may in future desert from them into his country.

4. The King Shah Aalum shall remain in full possession of Korah, and such part of the province of Illah-abad as he now possesses, which are ceded to his Majesty as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expences.

5. His highness Shujah ul Dowla engages in the most solemn manner to continue Bulwant Sing in the Zemindarrees of Benâres, Ghazepore, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and the English, on condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore.

6. In consideration of the great expence incurred by the English Company, in carrying on the late war, his highness agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacks of rupees in the following manner, viz. (twelve) 12 lacks in money, and a deposit of jewels, to the amount of (eight) 8 lacks, upon the signing of this treaty; (five) 5 lacks one month after, and the remaining (twenty-five) 25 lacks by monthly payments, so as that the whole may be discharged in (thirteen) 13 months from the date hereof.

7. It being firmly resolved to restore to his highness the country of Benâres, and the other districts now rented by Bulwant Sing, notwithstanding the grant of the same from the King to the English Company; it is therefore agreed, that they shall be ceded to his highness in manner following, viz. They shall remain in the hands of the English Company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between Bulwant Sing and the Company, being on the 27th November next; after which his highness shall enter into possession, the fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated, until the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

8. His highness shall allow the English Company to carry on a trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

9. All the relations and subjects of his highness, who in any manner assisted the English during the course of the late war, shall be forgiven, and no ways molested for the same.

10. As soon as this treaty is executed, the English forces shall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highness, excepting such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the King in the city of Illah-abad, if his majesty should require a force for that purpose.

11. His

11. His highness the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company promise to observe sincerely and strictly, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Signed, sealed, and solemnly sworn to, according to their respective faiths, by the contracting parties at Illah-abad, this 16th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1765, in the presence of us,

CLIVE (L. S.)

JOHN CARNAC. (L. S.)

SHUJAH al DOWLA's Seal (L. S.) and Ratification.

EDMUND MASKELYNE,
ARCHIBALD SWINTON,
GEORGE VANSITTART.

MIRZA COSSIM KHAN,
RAJAH SEETABROY,
MEER MUSSHALA.

Fort William, September 30th 1765.

(*A true Copy*)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LIX.

Articles of Agreement between the King Shah Aalum, and the Company, relating to the tribute to be paid to him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, dated August 19th, 1765.

The Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah agrees to pay to his majesty out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the sum of 26 lacks of rupees a-year, without any deduction for Batta, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments, amounting to rupees 216,666 10 9 per month; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and the English Company, in consideration of his majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant them the Dewannee of Bengal, &c. do engage themselves to be security for the regular payment of the same. It shall be paid month by month from the factory at Patna, to Rajah Seetabroy, or whomsoever his majesty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court: but in case the territories of the aforesaid Nabob should be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the stipulated revenues, proportionable to the damage that may be sustained.

In consideration of Nudjeef Khan's having joined the English forces, and acted in his majesty's service in the late war; his majesty will be graciously pleased to allow him the sum of two lacks of rupees a-year, to be paid by equal monthly payments; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and in default thereof, the English Company, who are guarantees for the same, will make it good out of the revenue allotted to his majesty from the territories of Bengal. If the territories of Bengal should at any time be invaded, and on that account a deduction be made out of the Royal revenue, in such case a proportionable deduction shall also be made out of Nudjeef Khan's allowance.

Dated the 19th of August, 1765.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(*A true Copy.*)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LX.

No. LX.

Agreement between the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla and the Company, relating to the allowance to be paid him for the support of the Nizamut of Bengal, &c. dated September 30th, 1765.

The King having been graciously pleased to grant to the English Company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the revenues thereof, as a free gift, for ever, on certain conditions, whereof one is, that there shall be a sufficient allowance out of the said revenues for supporting the expence of the Nizamut; be it known to all whom it may concern, that I do agree to accept of the annual sum of Sicca rupees 5,386,131 9, as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut, which is to be regularly paid as follows, viz. the sum of rupees, 1,778,854 1, for all my household expences, servants, &c. and the remaining sum of rupees 3,607,277 8, for the maintenance of such horse, Sepoys, Peons, Bercundasses, &c. as may be thought necessary for my Sewaury, and the support of my dignity only, should such an expence hereafter be found necessary to be kept up, but on no account ever to exceed that amount; and having a perfect reliance on Maeen ul Dowla, I desire he may have the disbursing of the above sum of rupees, 3,607,277 8, for the purposes before-mentioned. This agreement by the blessing of God, I hope will be inviolably observed, as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal.

Fort William, the 30th September, 1765.

(*A true Copy.*)

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. 61.

To the Honourable the Mayor's Court, at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal.

The intended Petition of the Honourable Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, of Calcutta, Esqrs.

In the cause { Parseek Arratoon, by his Attorney, - - Plaintiff, against Tom Lewis and others, - - - - - - Defendants. }

Sheweth,

That Tom Lewis, of Calcutta, merchant, some time past was employed as agent by your petitioners up the country in buying and selling of goods and merchandize, and, in the course of trade, purchased a quantity of salt of the plaintiff's agents, or Gomastahs, at Nattoor, on account of your petitioners; and some time past, a suit was commenced in this Honourable Court by one Parseek Arratoon, by his attorney Petruse Arratoon, of Calcutta, Armenian, against the said Tom Lewis and Ramsunder, and several others by name, and others who should afterwards appear to be any ways interested or concerned regarding the legality of the bargain made for the said salt; to which said bill the said Tom Lewis and Ramsunder were served with process to appear and answer, who accordingly appeared and put in their answers, to which the plaintiff

tiff replied and the said defendants, Lewis and Ramsunder, rejoined; and the plaintiffs proceeded to an examination of divers witnesses, without any regard to the said other defendants, who were on the spot, and had never been served with process.

And your petitioners further shew, that when the plaintiff was about examining his witnesses, he applied to your petitioner, Harry Verelst, in order to have the matter settled by an amicable determination of some gentlemen of this place, in order, as he said, to save expence and trouble to this Honourable Court; and, at the same time, gave your petitioner to understand, that the said suit should be stayed until the said arbitration should be finally agreed upon. That your petitioner, Harry Verelst, has since been indisposed; and the arrival of the Europe ships hath prevented him from attending to the said suit, of which the plaintiff took an unfair advantage, by getting the said cause set down to be heard, when, at the same time, he was treating with your petitioner about an amicable determination; and your petitioner had ordered the witnesses proofs and vouchers to be sought for, in order to be examined into by the arbitrators; but your petitioner was greatly surprised on hearing of the proceedings of the plaintiff, and the means he used to bring on the cause to a trial.

That your petitioner has since had the perusal of the plaintiff's bill, and is advised, that the allegations therein set forth are false and groundless, and that the witnesses by him produced are of mean and low degree, and hath reason to believe that the oaths administered unto them are not binding to their cast; and, notwithstanding the plaintiff's having deceived you petitioner in manner before set forth, yet, as this Honourable Court are the guardians of our laws and liberties in these parts, and will not hear and determine matters of this moment without giving the concerned a hearing, when proofs and evidences are ready to be brought, and which your petitioners are ready to produce:

Therefore humbly pray, that they may be at liberty to lay the said proofs before this Honourable Court, and examine one or more witness or witnesses; that the defendants and all concerned, as well as the plaintiff's may be heard, and the truth of the matter brought to light for the satisfaction of all parties, and that judgment of this Court may be had thereon.

And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

(Signed) Whittall, Attorney.

Calcutta, August, 1768.

No. 62.

To the Honourable the Mayor's Court, at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal,

Between Petruse Arratoon, administrator of Coja Parseek Arratoon, deceased,	Complainant,
And Ramnarrain, otherwise Mozundâr, Tom Lewis, Ramsunder Dewan, Sunker Seal, Rhadakistna Chowdry, Radacanto Mozundâr, Dindoyal Roy Ranshaw, Kittinarrain Bose, Mocheram Tagore, and Bolleram Tagore,	Defendants,

The humble Petition of the Defendant Tom Lewis, and also of Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Esqrs.

SHEWETH,

That the said Coja Parseek Arratoon did, on or about the fifteenth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, prefer his bill of complaint in this Honour-

Honourable Court, against your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a pretended demand of Arcot rupees sixty thousand four hundred and thirty-two, on account of a purchase of salt at Nattoor, or some other place or places up the country, which the complainant would insinuate was forced from his Gomastahs there; to which bill of complaint your petitioner Tom Lewis filed his answer, and other proceedings in the said cause were had in this Honourable Court, wherein the same is still depending.

And your petitioners humbly shew, that they were each of them concerned one third in the salt purchased at Nattoor, or the other place or places up the country, as aforesaid, and that the same was fairly bought and purchased at the then price at that Aurung, of some black merchants there, whose property the same appeared to be, and no ways connected with the said Coja Parseek Arratoon. That soon after the bargain was made, a sudden rise of salt happening in the market, the proprietors were desirous of being off their bargain, which occasioning a difference, the same was submitted to arbitration at Nattoor, and given in favour of the purchaser. But the proprietors not satisfied with the award (although they had signed bonds to abide by the same) sought protection under the said Coja Parseek Arratoon, who preferred the bill of complaint herein before mentioned, in this Honourable Court, against your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a greater quantity of salt than was delivered, and at a higher price than the market ever bore. That on hearing that the suit was about to be brought to a hearing, without your petitioner Tom Lewis, or his attorney, properly supporting the same by the testimony of witnesses who were acquainted with the just transaction; and your petitioners Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, being each (as aforesaid) one third interested therein, your petitioner, Harry Verelst, requested the hearing of the cause might be postponed until proper enquiries could be made into the true state of the case. That your petitioner, Harry Verelst had several conferences on the occasion with the present complainant Petruse Arratoon, who said he would readily consent to an amicable arbitration of the matter, and repeatedly offered and requested your petitioner, Harry Verelst, to decide the same himself, which he objected to, being a party concerned, but told the said Petruse Arratoon, that he would call down the witnesses from Nattoor, when he should be glad to have the matter settled by arbitration; and the said Petruse Arratoon quite approving thereof, the witnesses, namely Kissna Sarran of Nattoor, Vakeel, Ramsan of Nattoor, merchant, and Kittinarrain Bose of Chandernagore, were sent for down to Calcutta, and their depositions there taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court; after which your petitioner, Harry Verelst, requested the said Petruse Arratoon would himself nominate the arbitrators, and he did accordingly nominate Thomas Cooke and Joseph Price, of Calcutta aforesaid, merchants; and arbitration-bonds were thereupon prepared, and one of them executed by your petitioner Harry Verelst, and the attorney of your petitioner Francis Sykes; but, on their being presented to the said Petruse Arratoon, he refused to execute his, unless the matter was to come before the Court upon the depositions only which were in favour of the complainant; upon pretence, that although the depositions of the said three witnesses were taken by the examiner, yet that the interrogatories were not properly filed, or marked *filed*, in this Honourable Court, or that they were taken without the complainant's having an opportunity of cross-examining them; which circumstances (if they were true) your petitioners were totally unacquainted with, and cannot conceive from whence the same could arise, but which, your petitioners humbly apprehend, can by no means be attributed to them, who cannot be supposed to be acquainted with the forms required or prescribed by a court of judicature, but who were desirous that every fair step should be taken for the benefit of all parties, and the proceedings should

should be conducted with the greatest regularity and uprightness. That, notwithstanding what has been alledged by the opposite party, your petitioners humbly aver, that the complainant knew that the said three witnesses were present in Calcutta for a considerable time, and that therefore he must have had every opportunity of cross-examining them; but to obviate every objection which the complainant can make, as far as is in the power of your petitioners, your petitioners are ready and willing, at their own expence, to call the said three witnesses down again to Calcutta, that the complainant may have an opportunity of cross-examining them, and in order to do the complainant every justice in their power, and to ascertain a true state of facts.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray, the depositions of the said three witnesses, so taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court as aforesaid, may be deemed and taken as part of the proceedings had in this cause, and that your petitioners may have the benefit thereof at the day of hearing; and that, if this Honourable Court shall so think proper, the said witnesses may be, at your petitioner's expence, again called down to Calcutta, in order that the complainant may cross-examine them, or avail himself of every advantage he can of their presence; and that your petitioners may have all such further and other relief in the premises as unto this Honourable Court, after due consideration had thereof, may think meet or agreeable to equity.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Calcutta, the 4th May, 1770.

(Signed) Sealy, Attorney.
True Copy.

No. 63.

To the Honourable John Spencer, Esq; President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.

The humble PETITION of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, together with the Merchants, Banyans, and others, whose estates, interests, or habitations, are in any part of the kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, or Orissa, within the jurisdiction of the English.

SHEWETH,

That whereas on, or about the 27th day of February last past, Radachurn Metre, grandson of Govindram Metre, heretofore of Calcutta, Jemmautdar, (whose steady attachment and services to the English are too eminent to be soon forgot) was condemned to death at the general quarter sessions of the town of Calcutta, there held on the day and date aforesaid, being indicted for and convicted of a crime of which he is intirely innocent; but for want of being acquainted with the laws by which he was tried, as well as the manner of defending himself, and proving his innocence, is now fallen a victim to the malice of his prosecutors and his own ignorance.

Your petitioners, therefore, beg leave to set forth the general consternation, astonishment, and even panic, with which the natives at all parts, under the denomination of the English, are seized by this example of Radachurn Metre; they find themselves subject to the pains and penalties of laws to which they are utter strangers, and are liable, through ignorance, unwillingly to incur them; as they are no ways interested in those laws, they cannot tell when they transgress them, many things being, it seems, capital by the English laws, which are only fineable by the laws of your petitioner's

foresather's, subject to which they have hitherto been bred, lived, and been governed, and that, till very lately, under the English flag.

Your petitioners shew, that from their extreme ignorance of the laws to which they are but so lately subjected, they are in danger of suffering much, from not knowing how to apply for those benefits and indulgencies which they are advised are by law allowed, and which they ought to have; and that the last proceedings against the unhappy Radachurn Metre were, in many points, defective and premature, and the sentence precipitate; as there were many circumstances that required the nicest and most scrupulous examination, and the most attentive consideration, before condemnation passed: And your petitioners are farther advised, that such sentence ought not to have been passed till after the expiration of four days, a term allowed the prisoner by law for arresting judgment, and bringing his writ of error: and that it is, on that account, when a prisoner is brought to the bar to receive sentence, the judge always asks him—What he has to say why judgment should not pass? A question that has more than mere matter of form in it; for if he can shew good and sufficient cause, they will, on his proper representation, rehear the matter, of which benefit in law the unhappy culprit was deprived, by the sentence immediately following the verdict.

And farther your petitioners are advised, that the said indictment was very erroneous and naught, and that the said prisoner could not have been arraigned thereon, had he been versed in the laws to make his exceptions thereto. Lord Chief Justice Hales saying, "that there is great exactness required in indictments where life is at stake," and therefore very nice exceptions are allowed thereto; and your petitioners farther shew, that the whole of the evidence tended to prove a negative, which in law is held impossible to be done. Farther your petitioners are advised, that the prisoner was tried for felony, though his crime, when proved to the full, is no more in law than a misdemeanor; for the forgery of a deed of gift, of mere personal chattles, is no way within the statute. "Again, he who writes a deed in another name, and seals it in "his presence, is not guilty of forgery, because the law looks on this as the other's "own act;" and that, when the jury recommended the prisoner to the mercy of the court, a due forbearance of the sentence would have enabled him to have set these and many other circumstances in their true light; an advantage which he has lost through his ignorance of the laws by which he was tried, and which must ever be the case in future, unless the greatest care and circumspection be used by the judges, who are said in law to be a council for the prisoner.

Your petioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable Board to grant them a reversal of the said sentence, as it was pronounced out of time, and grant the prisoner a rehearal; or, if that cannot be obtained, that they will, at least, respite the execution of the unhappy condemned creature, till report be made to his Majesty of Great Britain, and his most gracious pleasure be known thereon; and farther your petitioners pray, that the laws to which they are to be subject, may be translated into the Bengally tongue, that they may be enabled to know what will make them obnoxious thereunto.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Dated Calcutta,
March, 1765.

Signed by 95 of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta.

No. 64.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8, 1764.

PAR. 23. As no agents or Gomaſtahs are to reſide, on account of private trade, at any of the inland parts of the country, all buſineſs, on account of licenſed private trade, is to be carried on by and through the means of the Company's covenanted ſervants, reſident at the ſeveral ſubordinate factories, as has been uſual.

24. We are under the neceſſity of giving the beforegoing orders, in order to preſerve the tranquility of the country, and harmony with the Nabob; they are rather outlines than complete directions, which you are to add too and improve upon, agreeable to the ſpirit of, and our meaning in them, as may be neceſſary to anſwer the deſired purpoſes. And if any perſon or perſons are guilty of a contravention of them, be they whomſoever they may, if our own ſervants, they are to be diſmiſſed the ſervice; if others, the Company's protection is to be withdrawn, and you have the liberty of ſending them forthwith to England, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it.

No. 65.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated May 3d, 1764.

It is the opinion of the Board, and—Reſolved, That all the Europeans, Portugueſe natives, and Armenian agents, who are now up the country, ſhall have notice given them to ſettle their concerns, ſo as to return to Calcutta by the 30th of November next; and that, after that time, no European ſhall be permitted to go up the country, under any pretence whatſoever, or any other agents be employed in our trade but Bengal natives.

No. 66.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated May 11th, 1765.

The Select Committee obſerving with regret the contempt ſhewn for the poſitive and repeated orders of the Governor and Council, for recalling free merchants reſiding up the country,—

Reſolved, that the former orders on that head be now enforced, and letters diſpatched to the chiefs of the ſeveral ſubordinates, requiring of them, at the expiration of one month after notice given, to convey in ſafety to Calcutta all who refuſe to comply with a meaſure ſo ſalutary to the Company, and neceſſary to the peace and good order of the country.

Being informed alſo, that a great number of Europeans, ſtragglers from ſhips, and others, who have no claim from indentures to any ſhare of the Company's protection, are variouſly employed up the country, and diſperſed all over the Nabob's dominions, to the great prejudice of the Company and moleſtation of the natives;—

Reſolved, They be immediately ſecured, and brought to Calcutta. The Committee, finding ſome difficulty in procuring an exact account of the names of ſuch Euro-

peans,—Agreed, that the chiefs of the subordinate factories be made acquainted with the resolution of the Committee, and required to transmit, without delay, the most accurate lists in their power of all Europeans not immediately in the Company's service, who reside in or about their respective districts.

No. 67.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 13th, 1765.

The President lays before the Board an extract of the proceedings of a Select Committee, held the 11th instant, containing their resolutions for enforcing the orders of the Board for recalling to the Presidency the free merchants and others, residing up the country.

No. 68.

Extract of Ditto, dated the 20th following.

Agreed and ordered, in consequence of the proceedings of the Select Committee laid before the Board last council day, That public advertisement be made, enforcing our orders already given for the return of the English, Portuguese, and Armenian agents, employed in the different parts of the country, to the Presidency; and requiring all whoever most strictly to arrive by the first of August, and their constituents to give them due notice accordingly.

No. 69.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated June 11th, 1765.

Received a letter from the chief and Council at Dacca, dated the 8th instant, setting forth the prejudice that must arise to the affairs of the gentlemen of that factory, should the order for recalling free merchants be immediately enforced.

Agreed, That four months beyond the time limited in those orders, be allowed to their several agents, and that we write them to this effect.

No. 70.

Extract of Ditto, dated the 21st following.

Messrs. Vansittart and Plowman setting forth in a letter to the Committee, the loss that must arise to * Mr. Henry Vansittart, should his agent, Mr. Hargrave, at Rungpoor, be recalled at the time required by the late order of the Committee, and requesting that an indulgence of three or four months longer may be granted :—

Agreed, that the secretary acquaint them that Mr. Hargrave will be allowed four months from this date, for collecting Mr. Vansittart's affairs ; and that he likewise inform all, who may apply in future, that the Committee are resolved to see the Company's orders rigidly enforced at the expiration of this period.

Mr. Skinner sends in a letter on the same subject ;—

Ordered, his request be granted, and that the secretary acquaint him of the above-mentioned resolution.

Received a letter from Mr. Scotney at Patna, representing to us the prejudice it would be to his own affairs, as well as those of his constituents, should he be obliged to return to Calcutta in the space of one month. Mr. Scotney's representation being thought disrespectful and improper ;—

Ordered,

* late Governor Vansittart.

Ordered, The secretary write him in answer, that such applications, it is expected, should be made in terms more moderate and respectful; but that, influenced by no consideration of the manner in which he chose to ask for an allowance of time, we agree to grant him four months longer from this date, for collecting his affairs; at the expiration of which he is required to repair to Calcutta, without farther notice.

No. 71.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated August 10th, 1765.

On the 26th ultimo, the secretary was directed to write to all the chiefs of the subordinates, enclosing an advertisement for recalling all free merchants, and other Europeans, by the 21st October next, and also to fix up the said advertisement on the Court-house, and other public places in Calcutta.

No. 72.

Extract of Ditto, dated October 5th, 1765.

Observing that our orders to the chiefs of the subordinates, to send lists to the Committee of all Europeans residing within their several districts who are not in the Company's service have been neglected;——

Resolved, That we now repeat the above orders, requiring them positively not only to send the most accurate lists in their power, but the persons themselves to Calcutta, by the 21st instant, at which time the Company's protection will absolutely cease, and they must stand to all the consequences of being left entirely in the power of the country government.

No. 73.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors, to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24th, 1765.

PAR. 16. We think it necessary to establish, that all trade to be carried on within provinces where factories are established, shall be carried on by our servants at such factories, and their agents only, who shall transact the business of our other servants, on receiving the established commission; and on any refusal to accept such commission, or any tendency to monopolize, the servants of Calcutta, or other parts, are at liberty to send their own black Gomastahs; who are, nevertheless, to be accountable for their conduct to the Company's servants, within whose jurisdiction they reside. All districts not comprehended within the jurisdiction of each subordinate, shall be considered as within the jurisdicton of the Board of Calcutta.

No. 74.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 19th, 1766.

Read the following letter from Mahomed Reza * Cawn, to the Right honourable lord Clive, President and Governor, &c. gentlemen of the Select Committee.

"MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

"The Zemindars of the Purgunnahs of Radshy, and other districts of the Subah of Bengal, complain that the factories of English gentlemen in the Purgunnahs are many,

* Acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal.

ny, and their Gomastahs are in all places, and in every village almost throughout the province of Bengal; that they trade in linen, chunam, mustard-seed, tobacco, turmeric, oil, rice, hemp, gunnies, wheat, &c. in short, in all sorts of grain, linen, and whatever other commodities are produced in the country. That, in order to purchase these articles, they force their money on the Ryots; and having, by these oppressive means, bought their goods at a low rate, they oblige the inhabitants and shopkeepers to take them at a high price, exceeding what is paid in the market. That they do not pay the customs due to the Sircar, but are guilty of all manner of seditious and injurious acts; for instance, when, at any time, the Malguzarry is demanded of the Taalookdars, Ryots, &c. subjects of the Sircar, the aforesaid Gomastahs, under pretence of debits due, or accounts to be settled, do not let them go, or suffer the revenue to be taken from them; and upon complaints, and at the instance of lying informers, and base men, they place their Peons over the Ryots, and involve them in a variety of troubles. That by pressing people into their service, and imposing many and divers commands on the officers of government, the inhabitants, the tradesmen, and others, they ruin every body, and reduce the villages and Gunges to a state of desolation.

"It is by these iniquitous practices that the people of the country have been ruined and driven to flight, and that the revenues of the Sircar have been injured. There is nothing of worth left in the country. If justice be not done in this case, how will it be possible, in future, to collect the duties of the government or its revenues?

"All the Zemindars make the same complaint; and what I have herein written, is only an abridgment of the accounts given at large by them of violence and oppression.

"As it is requisite for the prosperity of the country, and the well-being of the inhabitants, also for the obtaining the full revenues and duties, that the poor, &c. have justice done them, and that disturbances be put an end to; I have, therefore, represented these matters to you, gentlemen of the Committee, that whatever shall appear equitable, you will consider on and put in execution."

It appearing from this representation of facts, supported by a number of corroborating circumstances, that the business of government has suffered great obstruction, and the public revenue been considerably injured, from the privileges assumed and exerted by Gomastahs, employed in different parts of the country by the Company's covenanted servants;—

Agreed, therefore, that we recommend to the Board, to prohibit, under the severest penalties, all Company's servants, whether residing at the presidency, the subordinates, or the Aurungs, from yielding countenance, shelter, or protection, to any of their Gomastahs, who shall interfere directly or indirectly with the affairs of government; or, upon any pretence whatever, give impediment or obstruction to the officers of the revenue, in levying the collections of the several districts committed to their charge; and that in all matters of dispute or difference, whereby the revenues can possibly be affected, their Gomastahs, or constituents, shall apply to the government for redress; and, in case of refusal, to the resident at the Durbar, or the chief of the nearest subordinate, who shall apply through the regular channel, the Governor and Council, or the Select Committee.

No. 75.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to lord Clive, dated May 17th, 1766.

PAR. 9. We have had too much occasion to remark the tyrannic and oppressive conduct of all European agents who have got away from under the eye of the Presidency; and we wish your lordship would make it an object of your consideration how to confine the

the said Europeans as much as possible to the Presidency, and to those subordinates where the largeness of the investment may require it to be conducted by covenanted servants preferable to Gomastahs.

No. 76.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 9th, 1766.

Ordered, That notice be affixed at the usual places of advertisement, requiring all persons entitled to Dustucks to send in to the President lists of their Gomastahs in the different parts of the country, distinguishing the place of their residence, the service they are employed on, with the time required for that service, that they may be furnished with Purwannahs accordingly.

No. 77.

Extract of ditto, dated August 25th, 1766.

Letter from the resident at Benâres, dated the 12th instant, read, acknowledging the receipt of our letter of the 28th ultimo, enclosing a letter from Mr. Bolts, in answer to our orders regarding him, acquainting us, that as he is not sensible it is in his power to comply with that part of our instructions which requires him to take care Mr. Bolts does not exceed the time prescribed, he shall wait our farther commands before he ventures to take any step in so delicate an affair.

Letter from Mr. Bolts, inclosed in the above letter from Mr. Sage, read, setting forth his reasons for having staid at Benâres beyond the time we limited him to, and requesting us to indulge him with a longer stay to settle his own and the affairs of his constituents, which he represents to be extremely intricate.—

Agreed, we write in answer to Mr. Sage, that we did not imagine him so little acquainted with the nature of our orders as to be in doubt how far it behoved him to put them into execution; that, notwithstanding what Mr. Bolts alledges in his letter, we are well assured, that, instead of making it his business to settle his affairs at Benâres, which was the sole reason for his being permitted to return thither, *he entered into new concerns*; that he is, therefore, to inform Mr. Bolts, that we are determined our orders shall not be trifled with, and that he is to consider himself as suspended the Company's service, from the 28th of this month, for not complying with our positive injunctions for his return to Calcutta. However, in consideration of the plausible reasons which he now, for the first time, assigns, he is farther to acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, provided he arrives in Calcutta by the 10th of October, his suspension will be taken off; and, if for this purpose, he does not leave Benâres by the 1st of October, he is to send him away by force.

No. 78.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated September 10th, 1766.

Daily complaints arriving of violence and insults offered to the servants of the Government, and the agents of private merchants, by the Company's servants residing at the different Aurungs,—

Resolved,

Refolved, that we call down from the Aurungs all Company's fervants and other Europeans, as the only means of fecuring the neceffary authority to the government, and protection to individuals; and that we fuffer only the fervants employed at the factories of Patna, Dacca, Coffimbazar, and Chittagong, with the affiftants to the Supravifor of Burdwan and Midnapore, to remain up the country.

No. 79.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated October 31ft 1766.

Having, in our proceedings of the 19th of February laft, Refolved, That no Gomaftahs employed by the Company's fervants, or other Europeans trading under licences from the Company, fhould in future interfere directly or indirectly with affairs relating to the government; and alfo that fuch Gomaftahs fhould, in all difputes with the country people, apply for redrefs and juftice to the chief of the neareft fubordinate, to the minifters, to the refident at the Durbar, or to the Council, or Select Committee.

And it being now the intention of this Committee to fulfil, in the moft effectual manner, the honourable Company's inftructions refpecting the inland trade, and to remove all caufe of difturbance and oppreffion committed in the interior country under fanction of the Englifh name:——

Refolved, That in future all Gomaftahs, whether employed on account of the Company or individuals, fhall ftrictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or difturb the bufinefs of the government.

That they fhall fcrupuloufly avoid taking cognizance of any difputes or differences that they may have with the country people, or affuming to themfelves any degree of judicial authority.

That in all fuch points of difference and difpute, whether with refpect to trade or otherwife, they fhall appeal firft to the neareft officer of the government; and, in cafe of delay or refufal of redrefs from him, they fhall then lay their complaint before Mahomed Reza Cawn, or the refident at the Durbar, or the Council, or the Select Committee.

That whoever fhall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this Refolution, (a copy of which will be fent to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to the refident at the Durbar) fhall immediately forfeit their employment and the Company's protection, and likewife be fubject to fuch farther punifhment as the Council or Committee may think proper to inflict.

That, to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahomed Reza Cawn be defired to iffue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every poffible encouragement to licenfed trade, and to the bufinefs of thofe Gomaftahs who fhall duly confine themfelves to the above reftrictions.

Alfo that Mahomed Reza Cawn be defired to direct the officers of the government to call upon all Gomaftahs to regifter their Perwannahs, or licences of trade, and Duftucks, at the head Cutcherree of the Aurung, or diftrict, where they refide; and likewife to order the public officers of each Aurung, or diftrict, to fend him a regular monthly return of all Perwannahs or Duftucks fo regiftered.

Notice having already been given, purfuant to our refolution of the 19th of February laft, that all Gomaftahs fhould apply to the Prefident for Perwannahs, and the allowance of time for that purpofe being now deemed fully fufficient,—

Agreed,

Agreed, That Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to issue orders to the officers of the government, to call upon the Gomastahs in the different parts of the provinces immediately for their Perwannahs; and to send all persons, who cannot produce a proper authority for their trade and residence, without delay to Calcutta.

And, farther, to prevent all frauds arising from counterfeit and forged Dustucks,—

Agreed, The custom-master be directed to make a monthly return to the resident at the Durbar, of all Dustucks and Perwannahs entered in his office; the same to be communicated to the ministers, whereby they may be able to detect all imposition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the custom-house with those made from the Aurungs, &c.

No. 80.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee, at Fort William, in Bengal, dated November 21st, 1766.

PAR. 14. We are well pleased to remark your attention to our orders, in calling down the free merchants. Their proper employment is in the sea-service, as Captains and Supra-cargoes in the country trade, or settled as merchants at Calcutta; and if hereafter we find any infringement of our orders in this respect, we shall assuredly send for them home, and testify our displeasure at those who have protected them, or permitted them to go up the country. We are determined to have as few Europeans as possible about the country. You are to keep to the spirit of these our resolutions as much as possible; for we have the strongest sense of the injuries the natives have suffered from having Englishmen exercising an authority over them.

No. 81.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 11th, 1767.

Upon revisal of the proceedings of the 31st October last, relative to the regulation of Gomostah's,—

Agreed, We make the following addition to our former orders, viz. That the resident at the Durbar be directed to recommend to the ministers their obliging all the officers of the several districts to specify, in the returns they make to the government, such Perwannahs as have expired, in order that the ministers may be able to ascertain the number of Perwannahs now in force, without which it will be difficult to prevent frauds and impositions.

Repeated orders having been issued for recalling to the Presidency all Europeans who are not employed by the honourable Company, or furnished with a licence from the Council or the Governor; and information being now received that divers vagrants are dispersed over the country in contempt of the above orders,—

Resolved, That we write to the subordinate settlements and the commanding officers of the brigades, to seize, and send down under a guard, all Europeans who are not duly authorised by a written licence from the Board or the Governor, to reside out of the Presidency.

No. 82.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Head-Quarters, near Keir-abad, January 3d, 1768.

"There is one circumstance which it is necessary I should now just touch on, because it requires a speedy remedy; I shall enlarge upon it hereafter. The Nabob represented to me the great inconveniences which arise from the Gomastahs and dependents of English gentlemen residing in his dominions, particularly at Gurrackpore, Mirzapore, and in the Zemindarry at Benâres and Ghazepore; that he was extremely tender in exerting his authority over any of those who even assumed the English name, notwithstanding, that these people were guilty of many impositions and extortions on his subjects, as well as defrauding him of his duties. Now, as he had received repeated assurances from the Presidency, that no private trade should be carried on in his dominions, so he requested, that I would not only exert my power to free his country from the Armenians and Bengals in the service of individuals, but that I would also represent the same to you, so that effectual means might be taken for their expulsion. Sensible of the justice of this representation, I did not hesitate to assure him, that nothing was farther from the design or approbation of the English Sirdars; that I had heard our President made it a point neither to grant Dustucks nor Perwannahs into his excellency's dominions; that no consideration whatsoever could induce the English chiefs to suffer the advantages or emoluments of individuals to be the means of giving him the most distant cause of uneasiness or concern. I assured him of my ready concurrence in every measure to suppress this growing evil, and would represent it in the strongest manner to the Committee, that effectual measures might be taken to remove it; and desired that he would apprehend all those who were guilty of any imposition in our name, which, so far from giving umbrage to the English Sirdars, would be esteemed a favour conferred on us. I farther added, that, to convince his excellency how desirous I was to strike at the root of this evil, on my return to Allah-abad, it should be my care, that the Perwannah he himself had granted to Ishmael Beg, (one of his own subjects) for the exclusive privilege of making saltpetre on account of the English gentlemen, and upon condition that he furnished the Nabob with whatever quantity he wanted at prime cost, should be returned, that he might be convinced no private advantage whatsoever could weigh with an Englishman, which might, in the remotest degree, affect the public. The Nabob said, in answer, "That he esteemed "this as a fresh instance of attention and regard."

"As I have been informed of these circumstances not only from the Nabob, but Rajah Bulwant Sing has also represented to me the late frequency of English Dustucks and English Perwannahs, it is but too apparent, notwithstanding the resolutions of the Presidency, that there is an abuse in this matter. I do, therefore, most earnestly recommend to the Committee, that they will enter upon the most vigorous measures for entirely abolishing a system so fraught with pernicious consequences, and which very system had so lately proved almost fatal to the Company's welfare in Bengal."

Extract

No. 83.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 16th, 1768.

Notwithſtanding the orders which have been iſſued to the chiefs and reſidents of ſubordinate factories, and to the commanding officers of the brigades for apprehending and ſending down to the preſidency every European they may find trading about the country without permiſſion, the Committee with aſtoniſhment obſerve that there are ſome perſons ſtill purſuing this practice without moleſtation; it is, therefore, Reſolved to iſſue poſitive orders to the ſubordinates and brigades, and to enjoin them to a ſtrict obedience to our honourable maſters commands.

No. 84.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 23d, 1768.

The Committee being determined to put an effectual ſtop to the granting of Duſtucks and Perwannahs for conveying of private merchandize into Sujah al Dowlah's dominions under the ſanction of the Engliſh :——

Agreed, we write to the chiefs of Coſſimbazar and Patna, forbidding them to grant either Duſtucks or Perwannahs to any perſon whomſoever, and directing them to recall all the Gomaſtahs without delay, who may be trading therein with ſuch Duſtucks or Perwannahs given them from thoſe factories.

No. 85.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.

I am much ſurprized to learn from Colonel Smith, that divers people, taking the name of Engliſh Gomaſtahs, have been guilty of great villanies and extortions in your excellency's country; of this I was entirely unacquainted, or I would have endeavoured to have remedied it; nor has any one any authority from me, nor will I in future give any, either for trade or reſidence in your excellency's country. I muſt, therefore, make it my particular requeſt that, ſhould any one take the Engliſh name as a ſcreen for his mal-practices, you will immediately cauſe him to be apprehended and ſent hither, that his falſhood may meet its due puniſhment. You cannot oblige me more than by detecting theſe impoſtors. I write this ſo poſitively and ſtrongly, that you may ſee how very attentive I am to cut off all occaſion of uneaſineſs to you.

No. 86.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Rajah Bulwant Sing, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.

I cannot help being aſtoniſhed to find, from Colonel Smith's letters, that Duſtucks and Perwannahs, under the Engliſh name, are current in your diſtricts, and that Go-

Gomaſtahs commit frequent extortions and oppreſſions under that ſanction. After the plain directions which I gave your Vakeel at Murſhed-abad, I am very much ſurprized that you ſhould have neglected to inform me of theſe practices. I now, therefore, poſitively write to you, that I will neither grant myſelf, nor ſuffer others to grant, any Duſtuck with the Engliſh ſeal, for the conveyance of goods to any part of Sujah al Dowlah's territories, only for ſuch neceſſaries as may be occaſionally going to the army: and I muſt farther direct you to tranſmit me a copy of all Duſtucks for neceſſaries, the inſtant they come to your hands, that no room for evaſion or pretext may remain. As I have frequent complaints from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, that divers people aſſume the name of Engliſh Gomaſtahs; I therefore deſire that you would iſſue poſitive orders throughout your diſtricts, for all ſuch offenders to withdraw themſelves without delay; and you will immediately cauſe Coja Melcombe, and Coja Gregory, and a Bengally, named Ram Setcher, to be ſent down under confinement to Maha Rajah Seetabroy; for none of theſe people have any title to reſidence within the territories of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah.

No. 87.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Hare (then ſecond of the Engliſh factory at Patna, and ſince a member of the Council in Calcutta) to Mr. Vereſt, dated Patna, January 16th, 1768.

A.

Long before theſe gentlemen (Meſſrs. Alexander and Jekyll) had any Gomaſtah in Bulwant Sing's country, the Rajah had farmed the ſaltpetre buſineſs in the Sircar of Ghazepoor to *my Gomaſtah*, Coja Gregory.

Extract of ditto to ditto, dated February 2d, 1768.

B.

I did myſelf the honour of addreſſing you, under date the 16th ultimo, ſince which Bulwant Sing has taken a Mutchulcah from Coja Gregory, *my Gomaſtah at Chewſa*, not to buy ſaltpetre.

Extract of ditto to ditto, dated March 12th, 1768.

C.

Till the receipt of your order, under date the 24th ultimo, I was utterly a ſtranger to this trade's having been prohibited either by the Company or the Select Committee, to the regulations of both which I have, at all times, paid the ſtricteſt obedience; and what confirmed me in an opinion that it could not have been illicit, was the eagerneſs with which it was proſecuted by ſeveral Company's ſervants at the ſame time, and in the ſame places. As to *my having employed Armenian Gomaſtahs in my ſervice*, I did not imagine that the Company's orders relating to them were meant to extend beyond the provinces, *eſpecially as theſe very Gomaſtahs were known to be employed by Mr. Bolts.* In obedience to your commands, I have immediately ordered them down; but as a large ſum of money is already advanced for different articles of trade in that country, muſt

must entreat your permission to send a Bengal Gomastah to collect in my outstanding debts, and dispatch such goods as are already purchased down to me *.

No. 88.

Exrract of a letter from Captain Harper to Mr. Verelst, dated Faiz-abad, March 14th, 1768.

The Nabob has acquainted me that some people at Gurrackpore having taken upon them to say they are Gomastahs to English gentlemen, are guilty of many irregularities, to the prejudice of his servants; he has, therefore, applied to me for a guard of Sepoys to apprehend and bring them to Faiz-abad, that their behaviour may be enquired into. I have complied with the Nabob's desire, by supplying him with a Jemadar and twenty Sepoys. It will not be improper, here, to acquaint you, that there are several Armenians at Benâres, and one or two at this place, who often make use of the English name for a sanction to the behaviour which they would not otherwise dare to practise. The Nabob has often told me that he would expel them his dominions, but I apprehend he will be tardy in doing this, as I learn that they are very communicative in what they hear from Calcutta; and which, with their own embellishments, is conveyed to the Nabob through Meer Mushallah, who was formerly Cossim Ally Cawn's, and now his excellency's physician; and that it is by his influence the Nobob is diverted from putting his former design of turning them out of his territories into execution. It is well known how designing and intriguing a set of people the Armenians are, and I do not think it improbable that if they are permitted to reside in the Nabob's country, they may be the cause of disputes with him. If you approve of writing to the Nabob on this subject, I dare say he will expel them, as he has already expressed to me how glad he should be to have them turned away.

No. 89.

Copy of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received April 3d, 1768.

I have received your friendly letter by the hands of Captain Harper, and was rejoiced thereby. It is plain that my friendship with the English Sirdars, and particularly with your excellency, is firm; neither does it need the common phrases of the world to set it off. You also have shewn yourself so profuse of favours towards me, that I cannot find any expressions equal to my sense thereof. I can only wish that the Almighty may give our connection daily strength, and our friendship hourly warmth. Considering what you write on the subject of the Armenians, as proceeding from your perfect cordiality, I am delighted therewith. What can be more suitable to our interests, than that we should mutually exert ourselves in disarming all

* These extracts of Mr. Hare's letters are given to testify the attention and ready obedience that gentleman paid to the resolutions and public orders of the Select Committee of Fort William, for the recall to the presidency of all Armenians, Europeans, &c. employed as English agents in the inland provinces; in contradistinction to Mr. Bolts's behaviour on the like occasion. It is also worthy notice, that one of Mr. Hare's agents at this time, in Bulwant Sing's country, was the very Armenian (Coja Gregory, or Gregore) that Mr. Bolts also employed, and has since instigated to come to England, to support, with others, his own prosecutions by a pretended accumulation of grievances: an Armenian who has endeavoured to impose a belief before the Committee of the house of Commons, that he never acted as an English Gomastah or agent in Bulwant Sing's dominions. Such is the credit due to Armenian faith.

such

ſuch as may be the abettors or authors of evil? In the affair of the ſaltpetre, which was the firſt, every inquietude was removed, and every thorn extracted at once; but by a momentary adverſion of your excellency's regard, and now that you have written regarding Rafael and Eſtevan, that matter is done. As they have ſome outſtanding debts incurred in the courſe of their buſineſs here, they petitioned earneſtly for two or three days reſpite to ſettle their accounts, after that they will no more preſume to reſide here. Rajah Bulwant Sing has acquainted me with your excellency's orders about the Armenians in thoſe diſtricts, and I have inſtructed him to give implicit obedience to whatever you ſhall ſignify on the occaſion; as whatever is agreeable to you, cannot fail of being ſatisfactory, I ſay of being ſatisfactory to me. For the reſt, conſider me as one ſolicitous after your welfare, and favour me with frequent accounts thereof.

No. 90.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, April 26th, 1768.

I am ſorry to inform your excellency that, in conſequence of my letters to you, concerning the Engliſh Gomaſtahs, and your orders thereupon, I find your officers have exerciſed a ſeverity beyond what either of us intended; they have ſeized and ſent away many, without allowing them the ſhorteſt time to adjuſt their affairs; and others, from this kind of treatment, find it impoſſible even to receive the debts lawfully due to them. As theſe loſſes muſt fall heavy on many individuals, I think it but juſt to requeſt your excellency to indulge them with two months licence to withdraw their effects, and ſettle their affairs; and, at the ſame time, give ſuch orders to the officers of your dominions, that they may lend them all aſſiſtance for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of the matter.

No. 91.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated April 27th, 1768.

The Preſident informs the Committee, that orders have been iſſued to the officers at the Chokeys, to ſuffer all merchandize belonging to the natives of this country to paſs, on their paying the cuſtomary duties.

The Board being ſenſible of the great diſadvantages reſulting from an immediate recall of all Gomaſtahs of individuals, trading in the countries of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah and Rajah Bulwant Sing, under the ſanction of the Engliſh name; it is Reſolved, to allow them to reſide there for the ſpace of two months, for the adjuſtment of the affairs of their conſtituents, and the collection of their outſtanding ballances: that they ſhall, on no account whatſoever, be allowed to engage in any new concerns, and that they ſhall quit thoſe countries immediately after the expiration of the time limited for their reſidence.

And, in order to facilitate the adjuſtment of their affairs, as well as to prevent the frauds and other abuſes to which ſuch a reſtriction might otherwiſe expoſe them, it is farther Reſolved and Agreed, that the Preſident do inform Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, of theſe injunctions laid on all Gomaſtahs in their countries, and to requeſt they will grant them every reaſonable aſſiſtance they may require, for the ſpeedy regulation of their concerns.

Agreed,

Agreed, that the foregoing resolution be laid before the President and Council, and that we do recommend to them, to issue their orders for effectually preventing any trade being carried on beyond the provinces, by Gomastahs assuming the English name.

Ordered, That all the chiefs of subordinates be apprized of the Committee's resolutions, concerning the recall of private Gomastahs from the countries of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing.

No. 92.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 18th, 1768.

"The foregoing extract of Committee Proceedings being laid before the Board, and the Council unanimously concurring in the same opinion, they directed an advertisement to be published accordingly."

Note. In reply to the charge of inconsistency and partiality in these orders of the Select Committee, adduced by Mr. Bolts, we must observe, that permission was given to that gentleman, at his own request, to return to Benares in March 1766, and to reside there till the month of October following, which was two months more than the time he first solicited. That in March 1767, he applied for letters to Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, to assist his Gomastahs in closing his mercantile concerns, which were readily granted by Mr. Verelst; and that, notwithstanding these and other repeated indulgencies, his Armenian agents remained in the territories of Ghazepore and Oud to March 1768, when they were at length seized, after the most undoubted proofs had been received, that Mr. Bolts was, contrary to his solemn promise, entering upon fresh engagements. Proofs which have been since farther confirmed by his own confession before a Committee of the honourable house of Commons. Surely a just distinction was made betwixt the agents of Mr. Bolts, and those of other gentlemen, who had not incurred any suspicion of entertaining dangerous projects, and who had not insulted the Board, by a contempt of repeated orders.

No. 93.

Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received August 1st, 1768.

I cannot express my thanks for the favour you have done me in putting an end to the English trade in my territories. May the Almighty long preserve you, for I have still greater expectations from your friendship.

No. 94.

Translation of a letter from Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, to Meer Sheer Ally Cawn, the Fouzdar of Purnea; recorded on Fort William Consultations, December 27th, 1762.

Our Gomastah Ramchurn-Doss, being gone into those parts, meets with obstructions from you, in whatever business he undertakes; moreover, you have published a prohibition to this effect, that whoever shall have any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner have you prohibited the people under your jurisdiction. We were surprized at hearing of this affair, be-

caufe that the royal Firmaun, which the Englifh nation is poffeffed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the Englifh will by no means fuffer, with patience, their Firmaun to be broke through. We therefore expect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots; and, in cafe of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nabob, in the name of the Englifh, and fend for fuch an order from him, that you fhall reftore, fully and entirely, whatever lofs the Englifh have fuftained, or fhall fuftain, by this obftruction; and that you fhall repent having thus interrupted our bufinefs, in defpite of the royal Firmaun. After reading this letter, we are perfuaded you will defift from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendfhip, and fo that your amity may appear, and will by no means ftop the Company's Duftucks.

No. 95.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Prefident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8th, 1764.

Par. 7. The conduct and behaviour of Mr. William Bolts, a factor, falling next under our confideration, they appear, fo far as he was connected with Meffrs. Johnftone and Hay, to be very improper; efpecially in joining with them in an audacious and impertinent letter to the Fouzdar of Purnea, as it ftands on your Confultations of the 27th December 1762, and for which the Prefident recommended it to the Council to pafs fome cenfure upon him. He appears, likewife, to have been guilty of irregular practices, in refpect to carrying on his private trade: let him be called into Council, and reprimanded according to his deferts; and inform him, if his conduct is not more fatisfactory for the future, we fhall difmifs him from the fervice.

No. 96.

Extract of Fort William Confultations, dated February 24th, 1766.

Mr. Bolts fends in a letter, requefting permiffion to return to Benâres in his former ftation.

The Board do not think Mr. Bolts entitled to the indulgence he requefts, from his late conduct at Benâres, but that he may have permiffion to return thither in a private capacity to fettle his affairs, till the 1ft of July next.

Agreed, he be advifed in anfwer accordingly.

No. 97.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated May 17th, 1766.

Par. 48. You will obferve by the general letter to the Prefident and Council accompanying this, the very ample powers we have entrufted you with, for preferving peace, tranquility, difcipline, harmony, good order, and fubordination in Bengal; powers which, we doubt not, you will make ufe of in fuch a manner, as will, in all circumftances, be moft for the Company's intereft, as well as reflect honour upon yourfelves.

Extract

No. 98.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated July 28th, 1766.

Mr. Bolts having exceeded the time limited in Consultation the 24th February last, for his return to Calcutta from Benâres;—

Ordered, that Mr. Sage, the resident at that factory, be directed to inform him, that the Board are displeased with the neglect he has shewn to their orders; that he is, therefore, to send him down immediately; and that, unless Mr. Bolts arrives in Calcutta by the 28th August, he will stand dismissed the service.

No. 99.

Extract of Mr. Bolts's letter to the Governor and Council of Fort William, dated November 10th, 1766.

I propose going to Europe as soon as I can settle my private concerns; which business, together with the employment to which your lordship, &c. gentlemen have been pleased to appoint me, as alderman in the Mayor's Court, will engross the whole of my time; I therefore humbly request permission to resign the service of the honourable Company.

No. 100.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated January 5th, 1767.

Mr. Bolts having had permission to resign the honourable Company's service, in consequence of his letter to the Board (of the 10th November last) and entered on the proceedings of the 24th following;—

Ordered, That intimation be given to him by the secretary, that as he cannot claim any title to remain longer in India, he is positively required not to engage farther in commercial concerns, and to prepare to embark for England in one of the Company's returning ships of this season.

No. 101.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Bolts to the President, &c. members of the Select Committee.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have several very considerable out-standing balances within the provinces now under the management the honourable Company, the recovery of which, without the favourable interposition of your authority over the country government being altogether impossible; and the late regulations of the honourable Board, making my present application necessary, I hereby request to be favoured with your assistance, and that you will be pleased to grant me Perwannahs upon the different Zemindars, &c. of the districts where they lay, directing them to summons the Assamnys to their Cutcherrys, to confront them with my Gomastahs, and, after proof of the justice of the demands to enforce the payment. The sums, as per particular lists, are, viz.

In the districts of Purnea — — Current Rupees	10,939	13	6
Goragaut Sheeb Gunge — — —	6,029	12	6
Rungpore — — — — —	1,777	9	6
Dinagepore — — — — — —	2,320	10	6
Shawpore, Purg Santose, Krisndeeb, and Govindibaug — — — — —	151	9	6
Current rupees	21,219	7	6

The

The following are balances due from the Zemindars themſelves of ſundry diſtricts much nearer at hand; but being balances ariſing upon accounts of mercantile tranſactions, which may be liable to altercation, and being more immediately under the inſpection of your honourable Board, I ſhould be glad you would be pleaſed to appoint in Calcutta ſome perſon or perſons, either Europeans or black merchants, verſed in the tranſactions of the country, to examine into the juſtice of the demands, which are as follows:

Due from the Zemindar of Jeſſore, Nilcanto Roy,	S. rupees	13,029	12	0
Ditto of Tumlook, to the 13th November paſt,		2,501	10	6
Ditto of Sujah-mootah, ditto, — —		10,938	7	0
Fouzdar of Ragimaul — —	A. rupees	636	4	0
	Rupees	27,106	1	6

I ſhall very readily abide by the deciſion of the perſons you may be pleaſed to appoint.

After the letter which the late honourable Preſident and Council were pleaſed to write me, relative to my commercial affairs, it may not, on this occaſion, be improper to ſay ſomething on the ſubject, that you, Gentlemen, may be able to judge what an arduous, nay, I may ſay, an impoſſible taſk has been impoſed upon me. I have, by ſea and land, of my own and other people's, about eight * lacks of rupees now out, and actually employed in lawful trade, which no way interferes with any part of the honourable Company's inveſtment. Amongſt this, there is above one hundred and ſixty thouſand † rupees of woollens, &c. goods which I bought at the Company's laſt outcry, and which were only diſpatched up the country about two months ago. In the mean time, to comply as nearly as poſſible with what ſeems to me to be the intention of the order of the honourable Board, *I aſſure you, Gentlemen, upon my honour, that I have not lately, and ſhall not enter into any new inland concerns; and that I ſhall hold none, but ſuch as I have been already ſome time engaged in*, and which I am obliged to proſecute to bring in outſtanding balances. Farther, I will engage, under any penalty, that no part of my trade ſhall, within the three Subahs, in any ſhape, interfere with any part of the honourable Company's inveſtment.

I farther beg leave to aſſure you, Gentlemen, that I ſhall never be guilty of any infringement of the laws of Great Britain, or the bye-laws of the honourable Company, where their juriſdiction extends; and that, out of their juriſdiction, I ſhall freely ſubmit to the cuſtoms and laws of the country. In this ſituation, I hope, I ſhall not fail of giving ſatisfaction; and I ſhall chearfully ſubmit to whatever you, Gentlemen, may eſteem juſt, and require only an equitable allowance of time, to be indulged with thoſe privileges which have ever been allowed, not only to gentlemen who have reſigned, but thoſe who have been diſmiſſed the ſervice.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect, &c.

Fort William, the 11th February, 1767.

WILLIAM BOLTS.

No. 102.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated March 3d, 1767.

Mr. Bolts ſends in a letter to the Committee, (dated 11th of February, 1767) requeſting our aſſiſtance in collecting ſeveral balances due to him in different parts of the provinces:—

* 100,000 *l.* † 20,000 *l.*

Agreed,

Agreed, We recommend to the Prefident to grant Mr. Bolts Perwannahs upon the Zemindars in the manner he defires; alfo, that the court of Cutcherry be directed to examine into his claims on the Zemindars, as fpecified in his letter; but that we ftrictly enjoin him to enter into no frefh concerns, as the Board will expect implicit obedience to the orders he has already received, although they difpenfe with the immediate execution, in confideration of the particular fituation of his affairs.

No. 103.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelft to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, March 9th, 1767.

Mr. Bolts having reprefented to me, that he has feveral out-ftanding ballances unfettled in your excellency's territories, on which account he employs a Gomaftah, I requeft he may be indulged with liberty to conclude his affairs. I muft, however, hope, that as the fending of Gomaftahs into thofe parts may give occafion to many altercations, your excellency will, in future, withdraw your protection from them.

No. 104.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelft to Rajah Bulwant Sing, of the fame date.

I am informed by Mr. Bolts, that fome Gomaftahs of his, whom he employed in his concerns at Meerzapore, have not yet collected the out-ftanding ballances due to that gentleman; I therefore requeft, that no interruption may be given thefe Gomaftahs.

No. 105.

Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelft, received April 17th, 1767.

In regard to Mr. Bolts's money, which you defire me to interpofe my affiftance in collecting with all expedition; and that in future I fhould forbid all others from refiding, and on no account permit the Englifh gentlemen to carry on a commerce within my territories, in order to prevent all poffibility of a difpute; by the bleffing of God, I will, even with redoubled diligence, apply to the fpeedy collection of Mr. Bolts's concerns, and, infifting on the juft demands from all parties, caufe payment of the fame. For the reft, my friendfhip for you is impreffed on my heart, and the ftrong affurances you write me of invariable regard, give me the greateft confidence that all affairs will have a happy and fuccefsful conclufion.

No. 106.

Extract of Fort William Confultations, dated the 24th Auguft, 1767.

Ordered, that the Secretary do inform Mr. Bolts, that the Lord Holland will be difpatched for England in the courfe of next month; and that we pofitively infift on his proceeding by that fhip.

No. 107.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated October 1st, 1767.

Mr. Bolts, in two letters, one to the Board, the other to the Secretary to the Council, assigns the situation of his private affairs to be such as renders his immediate departure impossible; but assures the Board, that, as soon as they are adjusted, he shall with pleasure obey the order.

Ordered, The Secretary do acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, after the indulgence he has already had, his private concerns are no inducement for us to recede from our orders; and we therefore expect, that he will embark in the next ship that sails for Europe. Farther, that we hear he is carrying on an improper intercourse with the Dutch, to the prejudice of the honourable Company's affairs, and, on that account, positively forbid his leaving Calcutta, without our express permission.

Ordered, also, That the Mayor's Court be acquainted herewith, that they may apply for another alderman in his room.

No. 108.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Kelsall, chief of the English factory at Dacca, to to the President, dated September 18th, 1767.

In a letter I had the honour to address you in the month of May last, I mentioned, though in a cursory manner, the footing on which the Dutch had then newly re-established their factory at Dacca, not, as the event has shewn, to transact business on behalf of their Company, but, under the sanction of public authority, to fulfil a private compact of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts.

The late Dutch resident, Mr. Lankeet, disdained to accept a commission on such terms, whereupon he was superseded. His successor, when he found, instead of a representative of the Company, that he was sent up in the capacity of a mere Gomastah, to fulfil a private engagement, in like manner declined it. Both these gentlemen have ever since been violently persecuted by Mr. Vernet.

Here is an Armenian, one Coja Miguel Sarties, a man that has before done business for Mr. Bolts, who, not so scrupulous as either of the Dutch gentlemen, has made no difficulty of accepting the commission. The business is now in his hands, and, to fulfil it, he has had made over to him a sum to the amount of near * *seven lacks of rupees*: so enormous a sum I should have thought even beyond the conscience even of an Armenian to presume to invest, and should have doubted my information, if I had not received it from the best authority, *one of the Dutch gentlemen.*

I have thought it my duty to give you this intelligence, and trust, sir, you will take measures for defeating the intentions of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts, and of the Armenian their agent, which must materially prejudice our Company's business and the trade in general, since, in order to get in their investment, they must necessarily purchase at an advanced price.

* 87,500 l.

Extract

No. 109.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee, dated Head-Quarters at Allah-abad, October 23d, 1767.

I remember to have mentioned in Committee, that Monſ. Gentil was a very improper perſon to be with Sujah al Dowlah. I am fully convinced of this, and wiſh ſome mode could be thought on to have him removed. The perſon who has had the eſtabliſhment of Sujah al Dowlah's artillery is one of Monſ. Gentil's comrades, and formerly was an officer in the French ſervice.

No. 110.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddiſon to Mr. Verelſt, dated Patna, October 23d, 1767.

A fleet of thirty boats arrived here yeſterday laden with opium, ſaltpetre, &c. which took my name, and a Peon came twice to Noon-golah, to apply for Polwars, ſaying, he was ordered to apply to Mr. Mudie for that purpoſe. Upon enquiry, I find they belong to Mr. Bolts, whoſe time of a Duſtuck being expired, may probably have given his people this order, to have them paſs unmoleſted. I thought it neceſſary to make you acquainted with this, leſt I might fall under any ſuſpicions of paſſing other people's goods under my name.

No. 111.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated November 5th, 1767.

The Preſident lays before the Board the following letters from Mr. Bolts, on which he requeſts their ſentiments, after they have peruſed his Minute, which he delivers in upon the ſubject, viz. an Addreſs from Mr. Bolts to the Court of Directors, ditto to this Board, ditto to the honourable the Mayor's Court, ditto to Meſſrs. Becher and Alexander.

To Harry Verelſt, Eſq. Preſident, &c. gentlemen of Council at Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,

I requeſt you will be pleaſed to tranſmit the accompanying addreſs to the Court of Directors by the next conveyance. It is partly in vindication of myſelf from the groundleſs and reproachful accuſations with which your Preſident has been pleaſed to charge me, through the channel of the Select Committee, and partly on other affairs, in which the intereſt of the honourable Company is deeply concerned.

It is doubtleſs a hardy taſk for me, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to make a public attack on the Preſident, when the majority of his Secret Committee and Council are alſo parties concerned, but a regard for my own character obliges me to it; and as I have on my ſide truth and facts, which are obſtinate and ſcorn to bend, I dare, in this impolitic and uncuſtomary manner, brave the envenomed ſhafts of future oppreſſion and injuſtice, which cannot in malignancy exceed thoſe I have already unconcernedly ſuſtained.

As the majority of the members ſitting at the Board are gentlemen who have been but a ſhort time in this country, and are doubtleſs as unacquainted with the political wiles and cuſtoms of the Banyans, who have been the principal engines employed throughout

throughout the affairs concerning me, as they are unacquainted with that more-especially-requisite the country languages, they must have been exposed to great impositions; and it is very probable they have been misled in these affairs by the artifice of a veteran, upon whose integrity they placed am implicit reliance. It is, therefore, but just that I should attribute the concurrence of some of those gentlemen to their having been deceived.

If any explanations or proofs be required upon any part of my addrefs to the honourable the Court of Directors, upon intimation thereof from your honourable Board, I will readily descend to particulars, and hope to give every satisfaction that can be required.

I am Gentlemen, &c.

Calcutta, October 18th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

To Thomas Woodward, Esq. Mayor, and the Gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable Mayor's Court of Calcutta.

SIRS,

I am acquainted with the extraordinary step the Governor and Council have taken towards effecting my removal from my seat at your honourable Board, in open defiance of his Majesty's most gracious charter, and I congratulate myself, as well as the community, upon the just disregard with which you have been pleased to treat this glaring attempt to an infringement of the British liberties; an attempt which, had it been given way to, would have been of the most dangerous consequence, as a precedent for rendering your Court dependent, and of course useless to society, for whose relief our most gracious sovereign and parliament have been pleased to establish it, whereby British subjects would have been as easily deprived of their property and fortunes, as in the present despotic reign they have been of their liberties and every British privilege. Though the letter to your honourable Court appears under the sanction of the Governor and Council, I consider it only as the act of Governor Verelst alone, as I shall make it hereafter appear to the world. Consider in this light how deplorable would be our situation if, at the bare desire of a Governor, or even a Governor and his Council, the express orders of the charter should be set aside, and a *free British subject* exposed to be deprived of his honour and liberty. A malicious man, high in station, who boasts that he is beyond punishment, and that justice cannot reach him, would have it always in his power to spread ruin into every family against which he had any aversion; but where law and liberty reign, where men hold not their property or honour at the mercy of one or few, this security begets in them a disposition which is inconsistent with servility and adulation.

Let us not then suffer our liberties to be invaded by fraud or will, or destroyed by force; if we do, a dismal confusion must then quickly ensue, and villainous accusation, public and private rapine and plunder, illegal imprisonments, confiscations and proscriptions, diffusing universal misery, will become the common law of the land.

I defy the President and Council legally to disqualify me from holding my honourable seat at your Court; and I am confident that you, gentlemen, will never suffer me otherwise to be dismissed; permit me at the same time to assure you, Sirs, that I would not miss a single day's attendance at your Court, even when it is not my turn of rotation, was I not necessitated to do it sometimes in consequence of the oppression with which I have been treated, as I hope in due time to evince to the shame of my oppressors.

Yet as I should be glad to know upon what this extraordinary request has been founded, and to have so curious a document by me, I request you will be pleased to order me an authenticated copy of the letter from the President and Council.

Permit me to offer my fincereft wifhes for the profperity of the honourable Court, and the fuccefs of your endeavonrs to fecure the happinefs of the community, by an impartial adminiftration of juftice.

Who am with great refpect, &c.

Calcutta, October 8th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS, Alderman.

To ALL who fhall fee thefe prefents or hear them read. I Thomas Woodward, Efq. Mayor of the town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby make known and certify, that John Holme, who hath figned and attefted the certificate hereunto annexed, is regifter of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta aforefaid, legally fworn and admitted, dwelling in this town of Calcutta aforefaid; and that to acts, inftruments, procurations, and other writings by him figned and attefted, is full faith and credit given in Court and without.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof, I the faid Mayor have caufed the feal of the office of mayoralty of the faid town of Calcutta to be hereunto put and affixed, and the copy of the letter mentioned in the faid certificate hereunto alfo annexed. Dated in Calcutta aforefaid, this 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thoufand feven hundred and fixty-feven.

(Signed) THO. WOODWARD, Mayor. (L. S.)

I John Holme, Regifter of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby certify and atteft, that the within written is a true copy of a letter from Mr. William Bolts, one of the Aldermen of the faid Court, directed to Thomas Woodward, Efq. Mayor, and the gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, carefully collated by me with the original, at prefent in my poffeffion, as Regifter of the faid Court.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto fet my hand at Calcutta aforefaid, the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thoufand feven hundred and fixty-feven.

(Signed) JOHN HOLME, Regifter.

To Richard Becher and James Alexander, Efqrs.

GENTLEMEN,

I have this day fent in to the Board an addrefs to the honourable the Court of Directors, in vindication of myfelf from the unjuft accufations laid to my charge in the proceedings of the Select Committee; and as you, gentlemen, are the only members at the Board who are not more or lefs parties concerned, I can pretty well forefee the treatment I am like to meet with on the occafion.

As you, gentlemen, were not upon the fpot during the tranfactions of which I complain, you muft of neceffity have formed your opinions from the partial proceedings of the Committee, and from the more partial reprefentations of thofe in whofe company you daily are. In this fituation, I am not a ftranger to the malignant accounts with which your ears muft have been continually tingling, and which, like water continually dropping upon a ftone, muft no doubt have made fome impreffion, and have difpofed you to believe every thing you heard againft me, efpecially as you heard nothing on the other fide of the queftion from me, who, depending on the rectitude of my actions, have hitherto been filent.

From

From my address to the Court of Directors you will be acquainted with every thing in which I have been concerned, on which the unjust sentence of the Committee has been pronounced against me unheard; hear all, then, and let justice hold the scale.

Do not think, gentlemen, that the intent of this address is to sue for favour; that I scorn: I speak only to your consciences as men of integrity, and to set you upon your guard against the artifices of many combined against me alone, without any reasonable cause, or other foundation, than what is built upon their private interests, personal connections, and piques.

All I wish for is, from a principle of gratitude to the Company, that the partiality with which I may be treated may not force me, in my own defence, to print and publish to the world at home, what may add to the national odium against the Company.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Calcutta, Oct. 18, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

The President's Minute.

This address to the honourable Court of Directors, which is now before you, is, in my opinion, the most convincing proof that could be brought of the propriety and necessity of the Committee's resolutions regarding Mr. Bolts. The misrepresentations and falshoods that fill this production, appear too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. In regard to the invectives levelled against me, I flatter myself that my principles, my character, and my conduct, are too well known to the whole settlement to give room for the least belief of the truth of one of them.

For my reasons for bringing the complaints against Nobkissen before the Select Committee, I must beg leave to refer you to my Minutes on that occasion, which are entered on the face of their proceedings.

But as amongst the numerous falsities in Mr. Bolts's letter, there happen to be two facts, which he has artfully misrepresented and obscured, I must intrude upon your patience whilst I give a plain recital of them.

You may remember, gentlemen, that in consequence of the resolutions of the Select Committee, Ramnaut was to be delivered up to the government, to be made accountable for the numberless extortions and villanies he had been guilty of at Maulda, and other places in the government's jurisdiction.

Mr. Bolts inserts in his letter that Ramnaut, during his confinement, had no demands made upon him, except for some salt, and for a parcel of boats, which had been sold him by me upon very advantageous terms.

I allow that Ramnaut did purchase these articles belonging to me; but that the terms on my part were advantageous, or that a single demand was made upon him on my account during his confinement, I do most solemnly deny.

The case was as follows:

Ramnaut, some time since, employed a relation of his to purchase, under a feigned name, a quantity of salt, which I had consigned to Mr. Barwell at Maulda; by the same method, he bought of my Banian a parcel of boats, which I had before purchased of Mr. Burdett at a less price than I had given for them, though they were in a much better condition when I sold them than when I bought them. When the money for these things was demanded, Ramnaut declared himself the purchaser, but pleaded poverty, and claimed my protection, that he might be enabled to raise the money.

By

By this villainous artifice he was in hopes to have screened himself from the power of the government, and to have evaded restitution of the money he had extorted from the natives. But, on the contrary, it was my repeated request to the ministers that they would make him accountable for every rupee of his extortions from the unhappy people at Maulda, who had been ruined by his villainy; and I positively forbid any demands being made upon my account, until full and ample restitution had been obtained for the sufferers.

Of the truth of this relation I call upon the ministers, upon Mr. Sykes, and I could name many others to bear testimouy; a testimony which must entirely overset Mr. Bolts's assertion, that Ramnaut was confined at the city upon account of the debt he owed me: nay I can go still farther; I can declare upon honour that I have not yet received a single rupee, or rupee's worth, of the debt; nor will I receive any, untill all the unhappy sufferers by Ramnaut's extortion, whom I cannot too much compassionate, are fully indemnified.

In regard to the question which Mr. Bolts has put for me to Ramnaut, about the Denagepore Zemindars, he, as the author, can only answer it; that I was not, I solemnly declare. I never had any concerns at Dinagepore, nor do I know that Ramnaut had any, except some extortions he was guilty of; and I very likely might have asked him, Whether he had made restitution?

Another assertion of Mr. Bolts's I cannot but reply to, in vindication of my character. He says, that when Gocul Sonar preferred his complaints at the general quarter sessions, in a petition to the grand jury, it is remarkable that I, the then chief justice upon the bench, put the paper into my pocket; and he assigns a reason, that I declare never occurred to me: on the jury sending the petition into the court, it was as well my opinion as that of the other gentlemen upon the bench, that it ought to be referred for trial to the court of Zemindarry, where all criminal causes betwixt native and native, when no British life or property is concerned, have usually been tried. It was in consequence of this opinion referred to the Zemindar, whose proceedings thereupon have already been reported to you, and where the infamy of the prosecution, so warmly espoused by Mr. Bolts, so plainly appears.

My opinion in this method of justice is not, as Mr. Bolts endeavours to insinuate, particular in this instance; my sentiments therein stand recorded long since upon the face of the Consultations.

I now leave to you, gentlemen, to take such notice of this insult upon the person aud character of your President as you may deem necessary for the support of his government. I forbear giving my own opinion, as Mr. Bolts has already declared that all the resolutions against him have been formed entirely by me.

Fort William, Nov. 5, 1767.

(Signed) HARRY VERELST.

The several letters from Mr. Bolts, and the President's Minute, in reply to those parts of the above letters, which relate to himself, being attentively considered,—

Resolved, unanimously, that we express in the strongest terms to the President our entire approbation of his conduct in the whole course of the proceedings relative to Mr. Bolts, and the keenest resentment of this Board at the insolent and libellous attack on his character and station, as well as the insult offered to our authority, and to this government, from the factious attempt of an incendiary to sow the seeds of jealousy and distrust in our Council, to disturb the harmony and confidence that so happily subsisted among the several members of the Board, and to destroy those blessings

which the public confeffedly enjoy under the mild and upright adminiftration of our honourable Governor.

Refolved, That we fupport with all our weight and influence the juft and neceffary exercife of the Governor's authority, and the authority of the Board, for the prefervation of peace, order, and tranquility in this fettlement, and throughout the honourable Company's poffeffions in * Bengal; and that we punifh, to the utmoft extent of our power, the unparalleled endeavours of Mr. Bolts to fap the foundation of all government, to fubvert, by the factious cry of liberty, the principles of fubordination, and to loofen all thofe facred ties whereby men are united together.

Refolved, That our former orders to Mr. Bolts for proceeding to England fhall be repeated; and that in cafe of difobedience to, and contempt of our authority, his perfon fhall be feized, and forcibly fent home a prifoner in one of the fhips of this feafon.—And laftly it is

Refolved, That the feveral letters written by Mr. Bolts fhall be entered after this confultation, and tranfmitted to the honourable Court of Directors, as the ftrongeft proof that can be exhibited of the neceffity of the meafures we have purfued for the fupport of government, and the moft abfolute conviction to our honourable mafters, that unlefs they will vindicate their own authority, as exercifed in unavoidable acts by their reprefentatives in India, and affert the privileges of their royal charter, their fettlements and government muft infallibly be precipitated into anarchy and confufion.

It is farther agreed, That we fully exprefs our fentiments on this important fubject in our next advices to the honourable the Court of Directors.

Mr. Ffloyer lays before the Board the following minute upon the above fubject:

As Mr. Bolts, in his letter to the Count of Directors, has placed a part of my conduct in a falfe point of view, I think it a piece of juftice due to my own reputation, to lay before you, gentlemen, the matter on which he treats, in its real light; left my honourable mafters fhould deem me guilty of an impropriety of conduct, when I only inadvertently committed a miftake.

In the month of March laft, when I was the acting juftice and Zemindar, the Prefident delivered to me a complaint which had been preferred to the grand jury at the quarter feffions, by one Gocul Sonar againft Nobkiffen, and defired me to enquire into it as Zemindar. I did fo; but, on attefting the depofitions which had been taken by me, I figned them as juftice of the peace, inftead of Zemindar. I was not fenfible of the miftake until the next morning, when I acquainted the Prefident with it; and, as a confirmation thereof, referred him to the officers of the Cutcherry, who were the only perfons made ufe of by me, during the whole courfe of the enquiry. My report to the Prefident, which has been laid before this Board, and the records of the court of Zemindarry, will, I hope, fufficiently evince, that I acted therein in the judicial capacity of Zemindar only, and not as one of his majefty's juftices of the peace. But when I confider the tenor of Mr. Bolts's conduct, I am not furprifed to find him willing to fupport himfelf by every piece of artifice he can devife.

Every member of this Board, who has acted in thefe two offices, (which have generally centered in one perfon) muft be fenfible that complaints are often made at the fame time, fome of which require the exertion of a Zemindar's authority, and others are cognizable only by a juftice of the peace. In fuch a fituation, can a miftake be wondered at; and can any unprejudiced perfon, upon a review of thefe circumftances, conclude that I have been intentionally culpable?

I folemnly declare it was a miftake, occafioned in the manner herein related; and, I truft, that the honourable the Court of Directors, upon a confideration of Mr. Bolts's conduct, will be inclined to credit this declaration in preference to his infinuations.

(Signed) CHARLES FFLOYER.

* Appendix, p. 192. No. 97.

No. 112.

Extract of the Select Committee's letter to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, November 17th, 1767.

The Committee have recommended to the Prefident the taking effectual fteps for removing Monfieur Gentil and his affociates from the court and councils of Sujah al Dowlah, which we hope to effect without laying a difagreeable reftraint on the Nabob's inclinations. The meafure becomes neceffary, but we are defirous of obferving on this, as upon all other occafions, the moft punctilious delicacy towards his highnefs.

No. 113.

Extract of General Smith's letter to the Select Committee, dated December 11th, 1767.

The nature of the intelligence tranfmitted from Calcutta, by Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel, is without limits; the Nabob is almoft as fully acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings, concerning the Company's affairs, as I am. How far the importance and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of adminiftration are leffened in his efteem by this communication, may be eafily conceived. Whilft a Vakeel is fo eafy and fo fure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will be found fo hardy as to maintain a direct correfpondence with the Nabob; but there is a man who has obliquely offered fo great an infult to our Prefident, that, was I prefent at the Board, I would move for the exertion of our authority to the utmoft extent, to free the fettlement from fo dangerous an inhabitant. I mean Mr. Bolts: and the enclofed copy of a letter to Monfieur Gentil, (the original is in my poffeffion) refiding in Sujah al Dowlah's court, wherein he afferts an abfolute falfhood, which tends to leffen that effential dignity and neceffary influence of our Prefident, is furely deferving of your fevereft refentment. Nor is this the only letter he wrote; for the Nabob acquainted a perfon of undoubted honour, that Mr. Bolts had wrote the fame to Meer Mufhallah, formerly phyfician and confidant of Coffim Ally, from whom the Nabob heard it. Hereafter, I may lay before you other proofs of the extent of the intelligence communicated through the Vakeel.

No. 114.

Etract of a letter from Mr. William Bolts to Mr. Gentil, dated Calcutta, June 19th, 1767.

J'ai écrit une lettre au Navab à qui je vous prie de faire mê tres humble refpects: nous avons eu un vaiffeau d'Europe Anglois, et un autre François: les affaires de notre Compagne font dans une grande agitation devant le Roi and le parlement d'Angleterre; et felon les lettres que j'ai reçu il a grande apparance qui mon *Affocié* Monfieur Johnftone viendra *Gouverneur de la part du Roi*. Je ferai charmè de recevoir de temps en temps de vos nouvelles qui fuis avec une parfait confidération,

Mon cher Monfieur,

Votre tres humble Serviteur,

GUILLAUME BOLTS."

No. 115.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddison to Mr. Verelst, dated Allah-abad, November 26th, 1767.

As the fleet of boats, I mentioned in my last, left Patna a day or two after I had the honour of transmitting you an account of them, your orders there will probably arrive too late; but as there are more fleets to be dispatched, they will certainly be in time for them.

During my stay at Faiz-abad, I casually got into my hands a letter from Mr. Bolts to Monsieur Gentil, in his own writing; where, besides some other circumstances, (which are not perhaps unexceptionable) he acquaints him, that "the affairs of the "Company were in great agitation before the King and parliament; and that, ac-"cording to the letters he had received, there was great appearance that his associate, "Mr. Johnstone, would come out governor on the part of the King." Finding from the letter, &c. that he had wrote to the Nabob, I set myself to discover the contents of that letter, but in vain. At last I took occasion, one day, when the Nabob was enquiring what news from Europe, to tell him, that we had no news which could be depended on; and that the intelligence Mr. Bolts had communicated to him, concerning Mr. Johnstone's coming out governor on the part of the King, was certainly erroneous. He answered me with precipitation, "No, no, he did not write it to me, "he wrote it to Meer Mushallah, and I had it from him." I delivered the letter to Colonel Smith, and suppose he has, ere this, acquainted you fully of this matter.

Permit me, however, to suggest to you another channel of intelligence to the Nabob, which Mr. Bolts has been instrumental in forming, and which still remains open, I mean his Armenian Gomastahs. He had one at Faiz-abad, Coja Rafael; another at Benâres, Coja Melcombe; and a third near Ghazipore, Coja Gregory; these people have been perpetually filling the country and the Nabob's court with lying rumours; have reported that Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with greater power than before, that he was even set out, and a variety of other falshoods, in order to mislead the Nabob, and best answer their own purposes. Coja Melcombe, in particular, had a constant correspondence at Calcutta; and I have intelligence, which I believe may be depended on, that he has lately reported at the Nabob's court, "that "he was going to enter into Mr. Rumbold's service, or had entered into it, and would "bring a letter from the Council, that no English Gomastah should be licensed ex-"cept himself;" every circumstance of which is utterly false, and the news is not four days old. The Armenians, indeed, in general, seem to have adopted a system of fixing themselves in the Nabob's dominions, as they were formerly at Murshed-abad; and though the Nabob has, on account of some of their mal-practices, forbid them his province, yet, as English Gomastahs, he is, perhaps, cautious of expelling them. How far this circumstance may be worthy of your attention, you will be the most proper judge; but, as a fact, I thought it necessary to lay it before you.

I learnt a circumstance at Benâres, concerning Mr. Bolts's manner of passing his fleets, which may not be improper to communicate; he procured, last year, a considerable number of Dustucks from Mr. Middleton, for saltpetre, tincal, &c. and as some of these Dustucks have lately been seen in Coja Melcombe's hands, it is probable he avails himself of these.

No. 116.

Extract of a letter from the President and Council of Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated December 10th, 1767.

We are now come to a subject which calls for your most serious consideration: it relates to the conduct of Mr. William Bolts, lately in your service, and we think it proper to introduce it here, as it requires a full exertion of the privileges granted in the royal charter to you, and delegated to your representatives in India, to represent, in a proper manner, the insult given to our government in the person of our President, and the daring attempt not only to lessen our influence in the country, whereby your interest would infallibly suffer, but also to destroy that harmony which now so happily prevails in your councils. These purposes, so unnatural to a British subject, who had acquired an opulent fortune in your service *, Mr. Bolts has attempted to effect by personal addresses to our Board, and secret correspondences carried on through the means of Armenian agents, at the courts of Sujah al Dowlah, and of other princes †.

We acquainted you, in our last letter, that, in consequence of a resolution taken by the Select Committee regarding Mr. Bolts, we had sent him positive orders to return to Europe this season. Some time after, we received a long letter from Chinsura, at which place he frequently resided for some time past, informing us, with much freedom of style, that, if we would take his concerns, and those of his constituents, off his hands, he would comply with our directions.

The insolence of his reply induced us not only to repeat our orders, but, on his return to town, to forbid him quitting the colony until the time of his embarkation arrived; in defiance of which he immediately withdrew from the Presidency, and returned to Chinsura, from whence he sent us a most insulting letter, reflecting upon the character of our President, and of several of the members of our Board. This was accompanied by a long address to you, the absurdity and malice of which is too evident to require any strictures from us; we shall therefore forward it without remarks a number in the packet. The measures we had recourse to on this occasion were these; first, unanimously to assure the President, that we approved of the whole of his conduct, during the course of his proceedings with regard to Mr. Bolts, and that we entertained the warmest resentment against Mr. Bolts for presuming upon so libellous and unjust an attack upon the character of our Governor ‡; and next to determine on repeating our peremptory orders to him to proceed to Europe without delay; with which if he refuses compliance, we shall seize him by force, and send him prisoner on one of the ships of this season. The expediency of fulfilling this resolution becomes more evident from the intelligence which we have since received of his informing Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, by letter, that the Company's affairs in Europe were in the utmost confusion; and that his associate Mr. Johnstone, as he terms him, would be appointed Governor here on the part of his majesty. An attested copy of this letter appears on our Consultations, and the original is now in the hands of Col. Smith. Several other letters to different people in power at the Hindostan courts have been seen.

* Mr. Bolts was little more than six years a servant to the Company in Bengal, during which he acquired a fortune of 90,000 l.—Vide Considerations, p. 12.

† Appendix, p. 204. No. 115. &c. &c. ‡ Appendix, p. 201 and 202.

No. 117.

Extract of a letter from the Select Committee to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, December 22d, 1767.

We very much approve of the information you have sent us, regarding Mr. Bolts's conduct in the carrying on a correspondence with Monsieur Gentil at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, and have laid the same before the Council; whose sentiments, as well as ours, we with pleasure observe, entirely concur with those you have expressed on that subject. We request you will use your endeavours with the Nabob, to remove Mr. Bolts's Gomastahs from his dominions.

No. 118.

Extract of a letter from General Smith to Mr. Verelst, dated Meer Abzuls', March 9th, 1768.

After the very strong representations made by Sujah al Dowlah to me, concerning Armenians and other Gomastahs, you will be surprised when I tell you, that to one of those very men whom, two months since, he intended to chase from the country by a guard of English Sepoys, he has lately granted a pension of three hundred * rupees per month. I have heard that † Purseet Roy has some communication with ‡ Coja Petruse.

No. 119.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Harper to Mr. Verelst, dated Faiz-abad, March 20th, 1768.

His excellency desired me to acquaint you, that he esteems himself much obliged for the care you are at to prevent any persons taking on them the English name to the prejudice of his servants. His excellency's reply to your letter I have just received, and now inclose. Coja Rafael, the § Armenian, was lately taken into the Nabob's service, through the influence of the physician Meer Mushallah, and allowed three hundred * rupees per month. I shall take particular care, to see that his excellency's order for sending the two Armenians away be properly enforced.

No. 120.

Extract of ditto, dated Faiz-abad, March 29th, 1768.

I had the honour to address you on the 20th instant, on the subject of the Armenians, and enclosing a statement of the Nabob's military force. I am now to acquaint you, that his excellency being informed that the two Armenians, Rafael and Esteven, intended, instead of complying with his orders to go down, to remove from hence to Ferruck-abad, applied to me the day before yesterday for a guard to apprehend them. I immediately sent Sepoys, and the Armenians are now in custody. His excellency has desired me to let them remain ten days to settle their business, and then send them prisoners to Patna, which I shall accordingly do.

* 37 *l.* 10 *s.* † Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel at Calcutta.

‡ A principal Armenian inhabitant of Calcutta, mentioned in the case of Parseek Arratoon; see Introduction, p. 24. and brother to Coja Gregore, one of Meer Cossim's most active generals, in his war with the English in the year 1763.

§ One of Mr. Bolts's agents, now in England.

No.

No. 121.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, March 31ſt, 1768.

Sir

I have received your letter of the 30th inſtant, and am to acquaint you that I know of no orders for impeding the buſineſs of your Gomaſtahs in particular, in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah or Bulwant Sing. Repeated complaints have been received from thoſe two princes of the oppreſſive conduct of Gomaſtahs taking the Engliſh name and carrying on trade in their countries. The honourable Company have been pleaſed to expreſs their orders for the poſitive prohibition to their ſervants of all trade whatever in thoſe provinces, and the Preſidency of Fort William have reſolved to put a ſtop to it in future, by a recall of all ſuch Gomaſtahs. How far, or by what right, your Gomaſtahs can be allowed to continue there after the time already allotted you for the adjuſtment of your concerns, muſt be determined by the government here,

I am your moſt obedient ſervant

(Signed) H. VERELST.

No. 122.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, April 9th, 1768.

Sir,

I have your letters of the 2d and 7th inſtant, and am again to repeat to you that the reſolutions taken and the orders given for recalling the Engliſh Gomaſtahs in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, were general, not particular; but that as the names of ſuch perſons came to my knowledge, it became neceſſary to point them out.

No. 123.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated the 4th May, 1768.

Colonel Smith delivers the following minute:

Colonel Smith having peruſed the Proceedings of the Select Committee, as well as the Reſolutions of Council, concerning Mr. Bolts, he now takes this firſt opportunity of expreſſing in perſon to the Board, thoſe ſentiments he wrote to the Select Committee in his letter of December 11th, 1767*. It appears from the Conſultations of the 5th of November, 1767 †, that you determined to repeat the former orders for Mr. Bolts to proceed to England; and, in caſe of diſobedience to thoſe orders and contempt of your authority, that his perſon ſhould be ſeized, and ſent home priſoner in one of the ſhips of laſt ſeaſon.

I have carefully examined your records, in order to diſcover if the poſterior conduct of Mr. Bolts had been ſuch as to induce you to poſtpone your former reſolution, but find your reſolution ſtands unrevoked and unexecuted.

It appears alſo from the Proceedings of the Select Committee, that Mr. Bolts, ever ſince your reſolution of the 5th November, has been correſponding with the country powers; this correſpondence is wiſely and expreſly prohibited to individuals by the orders of our honourable maſters‡. If you had not already entered into a reſolution of ſending Mr. Bolts to Europe, moſt undoubtedly I would have made ſuch a motion; but when I read an unanimous decree of your Board for taking ſuch meaſures on this

* Appendix, p. 203. No. 113. † Appendix, p. 201 and 202. ‡ Introduction, p. 38.

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occasion as appear absolutely necessary for the public service, I cannot but conjure you, gentlemen, to enforce obedience to your resolutions, to support the dignity of government; for, should we suffer Mr. Bolts with impunity to bid defiance to our authority, the consequences are so very obvious, that to mention them is unnecessary. I do therefore move, That the resolution of the Board of the 5th November, 1767, shall be carried into execution, and, in case of disobedience to your orders on the part of Mr. Bolts, that he shall positively be sent prisoner to Europe on the first ship which shall be dispatched from this Presidency.

(Signed) RICHARD SMITH.

The Board still adhere to their former resolution of sending Mr. Bolts to England,——

It is therefore Agreed and Resolved, That he shall be sent to England by the first ship that is dispatched this season.

No. 124.

Copy of a letter from Mahomed Rezâ Cawn (acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal) to Mr. Verelst; inclosing Mr. Bolts's Proclamation. Recorded on Fort William Consultations, the 15th of August, 1768.

Coja Rafâel and Coja Estevân, two Armenians, who were under the custody of Captain Harper, and sent by him to Colonel Barker, and by the Colonel delivered to Maha Rajah Seetabroy, and by Seetabroy conducted hither to me, are now at Murshed-abad. Mr. Bolts issues a writing in the style of a public order, or proclamation, to all ranks of people; and affixes his seal upon the face thereof, in manner of a Firmaun, and sends it hither. The sense of it is, that whosoever shall imprison or molest the aforesaid Armenians, shall be answerable for all his ballances and outstanding concerns. A copy of the writing is inclosed for your perusal, and the original is deposited with Mr. Sykes. I cannot comprehend what Mr. Bolts could propose by such a writing. The Armenians are both here; consequently, what Mr. Bolts has written is directly levelled at the Nizâm, (Nabob) and the executive officers of the government acting under me; and there never was an instance yet of any one who wrote in such a style to the Nizâm, and the officers of the government.

Copy of a PROCLAMATION *under Mr. Bolts's Hand and Seal.*

" BE IT KNOWN AND SIGNIFIED—Whereas I have appointed Coja Rafâel Usannes
" Padry to collect my ballances and outstanding debts, and to get together all my con-
" cerns in trade, which are now dispersed abroad in divers places. The aforesaid per-
" son will collect in the ballances from the several Assammies, according to justice
" and equity, and will also get together and bring away all such concerns in trade
" as are there outstanding on my account. Whoever, therefore, shall, without cause
" or pretence, impede and hinder this business, or any way molest the aforesaid per-
" son, he shall become responsible for my ballances and outstanding concerns, and I
" will take due account of my affairs from him. I have written this by way of de-
" claration."

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS. (L. S.)

No.

No. 125.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated August 26th, 1765.

The President acquainted the Board, as a farther proof of the misconduct of Mr. Bolts, that Mr. Baber, when sub-secretary, had reported to him that Mr. Bolts, instead of duly executing the covenants sent out by the Company, prohibiting any of their servants receiving presents, did elude their orders, and, instead of executing them himself, employed a writer to sign his name for him, who was also one of the subscribing witnesses to the deed.

The Board calling upon Mr. Baber to give his information in this point, he acquainted them as follows:—When I was sub-secretary, Mr. Bolts came to me at the secretary's office in the council house, and after telling me he had something of importance to say to me, he took me aside, and asked me, "if I could let him see his "covenants sent out by the Company, prohibiting their servants accepting presents; "to which I replied I could." He then desired me to go into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing; I took him into the council room, and after shewing him his covenants, he requested me, in the most earnest manner, "*to execute them* "*afresh*;" alledging, as a reason for making this request, "that the signing was not "his own but his writer's; and this circumstance was known to Mr. Sage, who he "was apprehensive would make it public." I told him, "it was not in my power "to grant him such a request," and peremptorily refused him; after this denial he then requested, "*I would keep this matter a profound secret*;" I told him, "as long "as I could do it consistently with my duty to my employers I would; but if it "should ever be of consequence to disclose this matter I must look upon this pro- "mise to be void."

No. 126.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 5th, 1768.

Mr. Baber delivered in his information upon oath as follows:

That in or about the month of September, which was in the year of our Lord 1766, he, the said Edward Baber, being then sub-secretary to the said United Company's President and Council at Fort William, in Bengal aforesaid, William Bolts of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, came to him the said Edward Baber at the secretary's office in the Council-house at Calcutta aforesaid, and then and there told him the said Edward Baber, that he the said William Bolts had something of importance to say to him the said Edward Baber, and then the said William Bolts took the said Edward Baber aside, and asked, if he could let him, the said William Bolts, see his covenants, meaning the deed of covenants made, or mentioned to be made, between him the said William Bolts of the one part, and the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the other part, and bearing date on or about the 9th day of May, which was in the year of our Lord 1765, and which was sent out from England by the said United Company, in order to prohibit their servants from accepting of presents from any of the Nabobs or other princes in India, &c. to which the said Edward Baber answered he could; whereupon, the said William Bolts, desired him the said Edward Baber, to go with him the said William Bolts, into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing, upon which he, the said Edward Baber, went with the said William Bolts into the Council-room, and then and there shewed him the said William Bolts, the said deed of covenants; whereupon, the said William Bolts requested him the said Edward Baber,

in the most earnest manner, to permit him the said William Bolts, to execute that deed afresh, or over again, and to allow him the said William Bolts, to take the said deed home with him for that purpose, meaning to his the said William Bolts's own house, wherein he then lived, at Calcutta aforesaid, alledging, the reason for making that request, *that the signing was not his own, but his writer's*; meaning, that the name of him the said William Bolts, as it then appeared to be signed and wrote, or set and subscribed to the said deed, *was not of his the said William Bolts's own proper hand writing*, but that the same was signed and wrote, or set and subscribed, by his the said William Bolts's writer; *and that the circumstance, or fact, was known by Mr. Sage*, meaning one Isaac Sage, who was then in the service of the said United Company, who the said William Bolts said *he was apprehensive would make it public, and turn it to the prejudice of him the said William Bolts*, or expressed himself in words to that or the like purport or effect; whereupon, the said Edward Baber then told him the said William Bolts, that it was not in the power of him the said Edward Baber, to grant or comply with the beforementioned request of the said William Bolts; upon which, the said William Bolts made use of several arguments, in order to induce and prevail upon him the said Edward Baber to grant or comply with the said William Bolts' beforementioned request, amongst other things insinuating, *that it might be done without ever coming to the knowledge of the President, or any of the Council* at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid; whereupon the said Edward Baber, in order to free himself from any farther importunities of him the said William Bolts, then told the said William Bolts, that he the said Edward Baber was of a different opinion, and also that he thought it inconsistent with his duty; but in case he the said William Bolts had a mind, they would go and consult Mr. Campbell upon it, meaning one Alexander Campbell, then in Calcutta aforesaid, in the service of the said United Company, and who was a particular friend and acquaintance of him the said William Bolts; but he the said William Bolts then rejected that offer or proposal, and begged that the said Alexander Campbell might not be made acquainted with the before mentioned affair or transaction, whereupon the said Edward Baber peremptorily refused to permit the said William Bolts to execute the said deed afresh, or over again, or to allow him to carry the same home with him to his the said William Bolts' own house for that purpose; and thereupon the said William Bolts most importunately solicited him the said Edward Baber *to keep the before mentioned matter or transaction a profound secret*, upon which the said Edward Baber then and there told the said William Bolts, that so long as he could keep it a secret consistently with his duty to his employers, meaning the said United Company and their President and Council at Fort William aforesaid, he would, but if it should be of consequence to discover that matter or transaction, the said Edward Baber would look upon that promise to be void, and inconsistent with his duty to his before mentioned employers.

No. 127.

Copy of a Paper affixed to the door of the Council house at Calcutta, between the 5th and the 19th September, 1768.

To the Public.

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public, that the want of a printing press in this city being of great disadvantage in business, and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost importance

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portance to every British subject; he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing, and will undertake to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce.

In the mean time he begs leave to inform the public that, having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person, who may be induced by curiosity, or other more laudable motives, will be permitted, at Mr. Bolts' house, to read or take copies of the same; a person will give due attendance at the house from ten to twelve every morning.

No. 128.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 13th, 1768.

The Board came to the following resolution:—

Mr. William Bolts having obstinately refused complying with our frequent and repeated orders to return to England; having persisted to insult our authority and government, and to subvert the principles of subordination; having aggravated every circumstance of his conduct, which is strongly pointed out and represented in our Consultations of 5th November, 1767, and which then made us deem it necessary, for the support of our authority, and for the preservation of the peace, order, and tranquility of this settlement, and throughout the honourable Company's possessions in Bengal, to resolve on seizing his person, and forcibly sending him home, it became more particularly incumbent on the Board to enforce these orders;—

And it is accordingly Agreed and Resolved, to send Mr. Bolts home a prisoner on board the Valentine, if he refuses to comply with our orders; and Captain Purvis having expressed to the President some doubts how far he may be made responsible for the execution of such a measure, Mr. Bolts having already served Captain Purvis with a protest against taking him on board the Valentine, the Board, in order to remove every apprehension which Captain Purvis seems to entertain of the consequence of detaining him, do farther Agree, as the agents and representatives of the Company, to give Captain Purvis an indemnification for his satisfaction, and from that consideration only, as they are well convinced of the legality of such a measure, that it will meet with the approbation of the honourable the Court of Directors, as well as those similar measures which were taken in the year 1766, with regard to the officers who resigned and were sent home.

No. 129.

Captain Robert Coxe's Report to the Board, in respect to his taking charge of Mr. Bolts.

Calcutta, Sept. 23d, 1768.

That finding the doors open he went up stairs, and found Mr. Bolts alone, and shewing him the Board's order Mr. Bolts said he would not leave his house unless Captain Coxe made him a prisoner and forced him; the Captain telling him he was glad to find him so well prepared to leave the place, he said he had expected he should be forced away, and had been very busy in getting himself in readiness. After this Captain Coxe thinking he made a very unnecessary delay, and fearing he intended to procure himself to be arrested for debt, desired him to make dispatch, upon which he again said he would not go unless Captain Coxe forced him. Whereupon the Captain called two Sepoys, who put their hands on his shoulder by his own desire, saying, he would not go if they did not take hold of him; he

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then came down ſtairs, deſiring ſome gentlemen preſent to take notice that he was forced out of his houſe. Captain Coxe adds, that Mr. Bolts was, in every reſpect, prepared for this order, having his books and papers in great form, which he delivered to his attornies, telling them, that every thing was ſo plain they could not miſtake, obſerving that plain directions were given as to ſuch debts as they were to get in.

No. 130.

Extract of an additional Letter from the Preſident and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated September 24th, 1768, and ſent by the Valentine.

We beg leave to add a circumſtance relative to Mr. Bolts, that has happened ſince cloſing our diſpatches. We informed you in our letter, we had directed him to be ſent by force to England, if he refuſed to comply with our orders; we imagined he did refuſe to comply with them, and Captain Robert Coxe was ordered to ſeize him with a guard, and carry him on board the Cuddalore ſchooner, which was prepared to receive him and his neceſſaries, but was particularly cautioned that, in performing this ſervice, he ſhould force no doors, locks, or windows, and uſe as little violence as the nature of the caſe would admit. Mr. Bolts has been accordingly conducted on board the Cuddalore ſchooner, and is now proceeding to be embarked on board the Valentine, in order to be ſent to England; and we muſt beg leave to obſerve to you, gentlemen, that it appears, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that his aim has been to reduce us to the neceſſity of taking this meaſure; he had prepared himſelf for the voyage; and he had, we are informed, all his papers and every thing neceſſary ready, in order to embark, when he was ſeized by Captain Coxe.

On the REVENUES.

No. 131.

To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, Preſident and Governor, &c. Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

My Lord and Gentlemen, Calcutta, Sept. 13th, 1765.

In conſequence of your appointment of me to the Supra-viſorſhip of the Burdwan affairs, I immediately applied myſelf to the examination of the accounts of the revenues of that country, as far as they had been tranſmitted to the Board, from the Company's firſt taking poſſeſſion of that province. The following is a ſummary ſtatement thereof, ſpecifying each year's demands and payments.

Dr. Burdwan Revenues, 1761. Cr.

	Rupees.		Rupees.
To balance of 1760 -	511000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3304881 : 12 : 6
Malguzarry 1761 . -	3250000 : 0 : 0	Balance due - - - -	456118 : 3 : 6
	3761000 : 0 : 0		3761000 : 0 : 0

Dr.

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1762.		Cr.
	Rupees.		Rupees.
Malguzarry 1762 -	3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3521635 : 8 : 0
An overplus - - - -	121635 : 8 : 0		
	3521635 : 8 : 0		

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1763.		Cr.
Malguzarry 1763 - - -	3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3344200 : 0 : 0
		Ballance due - - - -	55800 : 0 : 0
			3400000 : 0 : 0

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1764.		Cr.
Malguzarry 1764 - -	3200000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3149737 : 4 : 3
		Ballance due - - - -	50262 : 11 : 9
			3200000 : 0 : 0

Dr.	The Burdwan Rajah Account Ballances.		Cr.
To amount ballance 1761	456118 : 3 : 6	An overplus 1762 - -	121635 : 8 : 0
1763	55800 : 0 : 0	Ballance - - - - - -	440545 : 7 : 3
1764	50262 : 11 : 9		562180 : 15 : 3
	562180 : 15 : 3		

Which will be accounted for as follows - - - - - - - - - - -		440545 : 7 : 3
Deduct Mudge-kiraut for the year 1761, allowed to the Conguy's and other officers, neglected to be struck off the Malguzarry in the above statement of that year - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		51103 : 6 : 0
		389442 : 1 : 3
Deduct Poolbundy advanced for repairs of dykes, roads, &c. to be paid by them - - - - - - -	41000 : 0 : 0	
Difference of Batta on monies remitted, which the Rajah accuses the Podars of the Calcutta treasury of not having brought to account, and which he engages to prove, if not, he is to pay the same - - - -	45426 : 10 : 0	86426 : 10 : 0
		303015 : 7 : 3
Deduct cash paid into the treasury from June 30th to July 6th - -		162752 : 0 : 0
	Rupees,	140263 : 7 : 3

By the above statement you will observe, that, at the close of the fourth year, there was immediately due from the Rajah rupees 303015 : 7 : 3, which I demanded of him, insisting on the full payment of it before we came to any settlement for the present year. He made many objections to a compliance, particularly remarking, that, as he had been

been divested of all power and influence in the collections, he thought it unjust to be obliged to answer for any losses and deficiencies in the revenues which have arose from the bad conduct of those who had the management. However, as I persisted in his complying with the Malguzarry he had agreed for, he at length consented, and paid into the treasury the sum of rupees 162,752 in part of his ballance, and executed an obligation to pay the remainder rupees 140,263:7:3 in two months, which I accepted, and desired him to proceed to Burdwan, and that I should, in consequence of my appointment, immediately follow him. The sum of rupees 41,000, lent by the Company, under the head of Poolbundy, to the tenants, for the necessary repairs of dykes, roads, &c. is still outstanding, and, when due, will be collected and brought to the Company's credit. In the settling the accounts there appears a deficiency of rupees 45,426:10, which the Rajah complains of as owing to the roguery of those people in Calcutta appointed to shroff and receive the money, and which I cannot think him any ways answerable for, as it is evident the whole was dispatched from Burdwan. The Rajah has since paid part of the bond he gave for rupees 140,263:7:3, and I make no doubt but he will shortly discharge the whole.

On my arrival at Burdwan, and inspecting the state of the revenues and collections for the preceding as well as the present year, I was surprised to find a large decrease of the revenues from the first of our taking possession. The rents of the province, according to the Jummabundy, or rent-roll, of 1168, or 1761, amounted to rupees 3,724,474:10:8, which by the * outcry of 1169, were encreased rupees 529,034:1:11, also by Chaukeran Balguzarry affairs (or lands allotted for servants, resumed this year) rupees 103,825, making in all rupees 4,357,334:0:7, out of which rupees 3,785:4:4 were deducted for the Rajah's Nuncar in one of the Purgunnahs, the sum therefore due was rupees 4,353,548:12:3, of which were collected from the farmers rupees 3,460,985:1:8. For the year 1170, or 1763, the same Jummabundy and with some small articles of encrease, came to rupees 4,481,035:10:15, of which were collected rupees 3,719,464:9:4. The very great ballances of these two years, amounting to rupees 1,654,134:12:6, made the honourable Board sensible of the impossibility of the then farmers complying with their agreements, and that the lands could not be made to produce any thing equal to the valuation in consequence of the * outcry in 1169; they therefore issued an order, whereby those who chose it might relinquish or keep their farms on making good their ballances out of their private fortunes, and that such as were not able should have their farms taken from them, and their goods sold to do it. Many were glad to take advantage of the first order, altho' certain ruin attended it; and many more were obliged to submit to the latter, by which lands to the amount of rupees 2,615,434:4:4 became Coss. The disadvantages of collecting in that manner were so evident, that it was resolved to endeavour to farm them out again for the third year on the best terms that could be procured. The examples, however, of the two former years were sufficient to prevent men of substance and credit from offering themselves; so that only to the amount of rupees 580,429:4:0 was taken at a considerable discount from the former Jumma or valuation, although the most profitable were selected out of the whole by the Muttaseddees, who were well acquainted with what they would produce. The rest, amounting to rupees 2,035,034:4:0, still continued Coss, and Sheikdars, or collectors were appointed to them, people in every respect as unworthy and infamous in their characters as the purchasers of the year 1169, who had been just dismissed, by which the expences in collecting were very considerably encreased. The Jummabundy of 1171, including an encrease this year of rupees 3,013:9:16, amounted to rupees 4,484,049:4:11 out of which is to be deducted rupees 12,744:4:18 for losses sustained by hail, &c. so that rupees 4,471,304:15:13 remained due; of this sum was only collected rupees 3,512,39:33:0, so that there appears to be a ballance for

* Public sale.

for the first year of rupees 892,563 : 10 : 15; for the second, rupees 761,571 : 1 : 11; and for the third, rupees 958,911 : 12 : 13, making together, for the three years for which the lands were sold at outcry, a deficiency in the estimation made from the sales of 1169 of rupees 2,613,046 : 8 : 19. Out of the ballance of the third year, the sum of rupees 554,124 : 6 : 14 arises from the Coss-lands only, a sum much larger than the amount-advances bid at the outcry, not a rupee of which can ever be recovered, as the revenues of these lands are collected by servants appointed for that purpose, whose duty it was to pay into the treasury—only what they receive from the tenants, on settling whose accounts no farther demand could be made upon them. From the above account you will observe how very short of what was estimated in 1169 the real produce of the province has been, and how little prospect there was of its mending; nor do I think it can be otherwise whilst the same plan of an outcry is pursued. The being put into immediate possession of lands, of which the purchaser is to have the sole collection, independent of the Rajah and his officers, or the chief and Council, on his agreeing to pay into the Cutcherry a certain sum, is a sufficient inducement for men of desperate fortunes, such as have no method of livelihood, and who, by their mal-practices in other parts, were incapable of getting employment, to come and offer themselves as purchasers, thereby securing an immediate subsistence, and hoping by their oppression to get some profit, even should they buy in the lots too dear to obtain any thing by them in a fair way; and as the sale was public, no bidder could there be consistently objected to. With these views, they cared not what they bid; and while the old farmers, who had possession, perhaps, from father to son for many years past, continued to rise in their offers, and probably exceeded the real value of the lands, rather than be turned out of what they esteemed their estates and habitations, and insulted by new comers; these last always thought they could afford something more: thus the greatest part of the province fell into the hands of a set of rapacious wretches, who revelled in the produce of the lands which ought to have been paid into the Cutcherry; the consequence of which was, that, at the close of the year 1170, a most enormous ballance was incurred, as has been above remarked, and the Ryots, who had been oppressed by the head farmers, and many ruined, were obliged to desert their lands which then became uncultivated. The substantial farmers, who, rather than quit their habitations, had purchased at the outcry, at an exorbitant rate, were obliged to relinquish their farms on making good the ballances out of their private fortunes, by which many were ruined, whilst all the satisfaction that could be obtained from the others, was to turn them out, without hopes of ever recovering any thing from them.

It is a circumstance that must appear evident to every one who reflects on the nature of this scheme, how prejudicial it will ultimately prove to the country. If the leases are granted for so short a time, it only serves as an incitement to ill-disposed people to take them; having no concern in the future success and welfare of the country, they pay no regard to any thing but the enriching themselves at the expence and to the detriment of the industrious Ryot, by which the lands soon become neglected and uncultivated. It is a known custom here for the farmers, who are desirous of encreasing the number of their tenants, and promoting the good of their country, to assist them from time to time with money towards purchasing the necessary implements for cultivation, as well as to support their families till the produce of their lands enable them to support themselves, and which I have never known repaid in less than three years. It is not, therefore, to be expected that people in the above circumstances should attempt improvements at a certain loss; on the contrary, when the lands are disposed of at a moderate rent, to substantial and creditable people, to be held in perpetuity, it becomes their own interest, equally with that of the government, to encourage the cultivation.

After the heavy losses and real detriment the first outcry had proved of to the whole province, I was greatly surprised to find, on my arrival there, that it had been again exposed to public sale; however, purchasers had only been found for about 22 lacks of rupees, so great was the prejudice taken at the former sale, and the whole of that very considerably under the Jumma-bundy of 1169, excepting the farms lately held by Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, on which a great advance was bid *; the rest of the province, for which there were no bidders, became Coss; the statement of the revenues of these lands is as follows:

Christian Æra,		Bengal Æra.	Rupees.	Annas.	Pice.
1760,	or	1167	1,014,242	1	4
1761,	-	1168	1,166,910	3	10
1762,	-	1169	1,272,854	0	15
1763,	-	1170	1,272,854	0	15
1764,	-	1171	912,237	1	5

By which you will observe the great difference in the Jumma, or valuation of them, between 1169, and 1171, the first and the last years of the outcry, besides the almost certainty, from the distress the lands were left in, of their decreasing as much again in their value, if continued to be collected in this manner, and attended with a very considerable addition of expence in servants, &c. that must be employed in that service. Such a prospect of inevitable ruin I thought required some immediate step to be taken. Nothing appearing so effectual as what I mentioned above, I endeavoured to engage men of substance and character to take the charge of them, with a promise, that if they exerted themselves in the improvement, they should never be dispossessed, but meet with all due encouragement and favour from the Company. In consequence of this many offered, and considering how far the season was advanced, I thought no time should be lost in putting them into immediate possession; and notwithstanding the best part of the time for cultivation is elapsed, they have agreed to pay, within very little, what they yielded last year; the next year they give an encrease, the third a larger, and the fourth they will fully pay what they produced in 1167; after which, should it be found necessary to lay any general encrease or tax upon the province, these people will subject themselves thereto equally with others.

I make no doubt but the Company will receive this year from thirty-two to thirty-three lacks, which is as much as they have hitherto got upon a medium. The Rajah has already offered thirty-two for his Malguzarry; but as on a farther scrutiny into the several branches of the business, and diminishing the several very heavy charges at present upon the province, I may somewhat encrease it, I have hitherto deferred coming to any agreement with him; since, if I did, whatever should arise, would of course go to him. I have already represented to him the great and unnecessary charge of his troops, the monthly pay of which is rupees 22,000; the more so as the Company keep there a battalion of Sepoys for the service of the province. He has struck off 7000 rupees per month, and I am in great hopes I shall be able to lessen this charge still more.

The Bazee Zemeen, or charity lands, are said to amount to between four and five lacks of Begas, great part of these it has been thought (and I believe with reason) to be misapplied; the Board has repeatedly ordered a scrutiny to be made into the Sunnuds and claims, but I do not find it has ever yet been properly settled, and a tax was to have been laid on such as, on examination, should be found to be in the possession of people no ways entitled thereto; last year the revenues fell so very

* For the Court of Directors sentiments hereon, See extract of their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal.—Appendix, p. 137, paragraph 17.

short

short, and some expedient being thought necessary to raise more money, if possible, to complete the Company's Malguzarry, Mr. Johnstone taxed the whole of this land at 9 Annas per Bega, without regard to what was really applied to the purposes it was intended for, except some which Mr. Marriott had cleared during his short stay at Burdwan: as these lands have ever been held sacred and free from any imposition, I must think so general an order would not have met with the sanction of the Board, had the case been properly stated to them; but there appears to me to have been an absolute necessity for some extraordinary measure, since the revenues of the country could not supply the Malguzarry, although at the same time the Board agreed to receive two lacks less than the Rajah had before settled; for the consequence of this has been, that many of these lands have been left uncultivated, until very lately, on my assurances that such as can prove their claims shall have their lands given up for the future; as many of these lands have become the property of people whose want of merit and qualifications to entitle them to such an indulgence, serve but to make it a nursery of indolence; and as the right of reversion is vested in the Rajah, I represented it to him, and have obtained in behalf of the Company the reversion of what shall fall to him by death, until it amounts to one half of the whole, as a fund for the use and support of such invalided Sepoys and others, as have or may suffer in our service: the better to secure this, as soon as possible, a regular register of them is making.

On examining into the circumstances of the principal farmers of the province, I found that the most considerable part of the lands was farmed by Muttaseddees, and those the most profitable selected out by them; it is through these people we are to acquire a knowledge into the state of the country, the revenues and customs in collecting; and while they, by being such extensive farmers, have so large an interest, they do their utmost not only to keep us ignorant but also to deceive us in points of the greatest consequence; besides which, being themselves capable, and no doubt guilty of great frauds in their accounts, they are under the necessity of conniving at the same in others, to prevent a detection in themselves. They are very sensible how these arguments may be used against them, and are the more cautious of letting it be known what lands they have; they, therefore, have a custom of making several Gomastahs to take them, giving different people in their families for securities; this is not only the custom of the heads, but is followed by every petty Mohooree in each office; exclusive of which, the infamous practices used by them to obtain the lands at the outcry at an under rate, are most notorious. I would therefore recommend, that such Muttaseddees as hold a large quantity of lands, should be obliged to quit them, or their offices, and that nobody holding any post be permitted to farm, except it be a very small quantity for the conveniency of their house and family; I would, however, defer it till the beginning of next year, as the heavy collections are now coming on, and their quitting their farms immediately might be very prejudicial.

The obtaining a true knowledge of the revenues, and just valuation of the country, has ever been strenuously recommended by the Company, but we have been very far from acquiring it. It was Mr. Johnstone's opinion, as has been before remarked, that the best method was to expose the province to a public sale, and that the amount that should be bid, would fix its utmost value; however, exclusive of the many disadvantages of this plan just explained, and which we have learnt from experience, there remains another very material objection, and which is the cause of the Muttaseddees recommending it, viz. that it leads to no discovery of what they have hitherto concealed, as (supposing the justness of Mr. Johnstone's argument) it can only fix the value of those lands we are at present acquainted with; whereas, I believe, nobody doubts but by finding out the quantity of lands which really exist, the revenues coming into

the Sircar would be greatly encreased, I mean exclusive of what might be discovered in the Bazee Zemeen, which itself must be very considerable. The great quantity of lands in possession of the different Muttaseddees, have been selected out of the whole province as the most profitable, containing more cultivated ground, and producing a greater profit than is by most people imagined; these they ever kept amongst themselves, to prevent their real value being known. I would therefore recommend, that an account should be made of every Purgunnah, and every village, haut, &c. in it, its Jumma, and the exact measurement of its lands, and as much of this last as possible to be executed by surveyors appointed by you; the Muttaseddees have ever opposed this, and represented it as impracticable, because they are sensible it must tend to their disgrace, and the diminishing their advantages; but which, I am convinced, may be overcome, notwithstanding every obstacle from them is to be expected; it will be the more easy too when such as chuse to hold their offices are divested of their lands, and the rest only farmers without the influence of office. The above objections which they have raised make it the more desirable, since it is known they have their interest in avoiding it.

On my arrival at Burdwan I found the Rajah, as he had before assured me, quite unacquainted with the transactions and affairs of his country, and without the respect due to his office: his incapacity, and the necessity of our superior influence and power, may be urged as a reason for it; but I think it will be better policy to have him fully acquainted with his affairs, and that a proper respect should be paid him as Rajah; nor would I have him under such an influence, as not to be able to make his complaints to Calcutta in any case where he may think himself aggrieved, as I am informed happened in Mr. Johnstone's time, when, after having made his escape privately out of the province, he was obliged to return without being allowed a hearing; and his officers, who were bringing the papers, which were proofs of his grievances, were seized just entering Calcutta, by some of the factory Sepoys, and also carried back. At the same time I would not quit the least jot of our power in the country. Nothing on his part can be done without our mutual consent; and I find him both willing and ready to concur in every thing I propose. By supporting him on this footing we may with greater propriety make him accountable for any deficiency in the payment of the revenues than we could before. Although I have made him accountable for every rupee of the ballances of former years, yet I must say his complaints in Calcutta, of the hardship done him in obliging him to pay them, have been founded on too much reason. He cannot now plead the same; the Company will have a double security, the revenue itself, as the collections will still continue to pass through our hands, and the Rajah, in case of deficiency from the roguery of his people, employed.

I have been taking an account of the ballances of former years' rents due to the Rajah, which are very considerable. I shall collect as much of them as I can without oppressing the people, or any ways injuring the collections of this year, and recommend this as a fund for paying off his debts, which are very large. Many of his creditors have the whole of their fortunes in his hands; but amongst the first to be considered, I would recommend Juggut Seet, and one Gurdy Loll: the former, for his attachment to the English, and the sufferings of his family on our account, I think deserves our attention, and that we should take this opportunity of manifesting our regard for them; the latter, on our first taking possession, as I have been informed, voluntarily lent the Rajah one lack of rupees †, which was paid into our treasury at a time when, owing to the troubles in the country, the Rajah found great difficulty in collecting in his revenues; and although he was promised to be very shortly refunded, he has to this day received nothing.

The

† 12,500 *l.*

The raw ſilk of this province being of a better quality than that of Coſſimbazar, and the Company's demands for this article greater than before, I am giving every encouragement to encreaſe the produce of it. By letting the mulberry plantations at a leſs rent than in other countries, it will induce a number to employ their lands for this purpoſe, and largely encreaſe our revenues; for a ſpot of land with mulberry trees, and another with paddy, and the ground of both equal in goodneſs, the former will yield a rent from eight to twenty rupees, when the latter will not yield two rupees. The encreaſe of quantity will I hope decreaſe the price, when this article may be purchaſed for the Company at a reaſonable rate.

From the vicinity of the Burdwan province to the Preſidency, I cannot think the appointment of a factory any ways neceſſary. One perſon to reſide on the ſpot, who will, in conjunction with the Rajah and his officers, ſign all papers, and iſſue all orders, which regard the collections, is fully ſufficient, and which is at preſent the duty of the council in rotation. A ſupra-viſor may, as he ſees occaſion, go there to ſettle and regulate any matters that may occur, or ſend his directions from hence. If it is urged that theſe gentlemen preſide over the ſeveral courts of juſtice, and thereby relieve the poor, I muſt remark, that in ſo very large a diſtrict as this province, it is impoſſible to have the greateſt part of the complaints brought to Burdwan. It is therefore cuſtomary to iſſue directions to the Sheikdars, &c. in the Purgunnahs at the head of the petition, ordering them to enquire into it. Beſides which, as the gentlemen are obliged to inform themſelves through the ſervants and Banyans appointed to each office, I do not think it ſo neceſſary to have that number, as one might equally well attend to cauſes of any conſequence. I am the more inclined to recommend this change, as it would be a means of leſſening very conſiderably the expences of the factory. Whatever ſhall be recovered this way, inſtead of reverting to the Rajah, may be added to the Company's Malguzarry. Should your lordſhip, &c. think it neceſſary to purſue this meaſure, I beg leave to offer to your conſideration the fixing the neceſſary appointments on this occaſion, both to the ſupra-viſor and the aſſiſtant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST.

No. 132.

Courts eſtabliſhed in the province of Burdwan for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and collection of the revenue.

The like dminiſtration prevails nearly in all the provinces of Bengal.

Sudder Cutcherry.

In this court are received all the land-rents and revenues of the province, all accounts relative to them adjuſted, all purchaſes and ſales of lands and property confirmed, all differences between landlord and tenant heard and determined, and from hence all orders reſpecting the rents and revenues are iſſued.

Buxey Duftore.

This court ſuperintends the conduct of all the forces, guards, and other perſons employed for the protection of the province in general, the prevention of thefts and diſturbances of the peace of the inhabitants; and all orders reſpecting ſuch perſons are iſſued from this office: at the ſame time it provides for their pay and ſubſiſtence.

Fouzdarry.

The jurisdiction of this court is wholly confined to criminal matters, and the judgment of capital offences.

Burrah Adalat

Is a court of meum and tuum for all demands above 50 rupees, and does not interfere in any claims under the amount of that sum.

Ameen Duftore

Is in a great measure a court subordinate to the Sudder Cutcherry, as all complaints are first made to the former, and referred from thence for trial to the latter. They relate entirely to the business of the revenue, and the conduct of those employed in the collections.

Chootah Adalat

Takes cognizance of all suits for debts not exceeding the sum of 50 rupees.

Bazee Zemeen Duftore.

Is a court for settling all differences relative to charity lands, and other public supports. Each person's property in claims of this kind are ascertained, and from hence all orders respecting them are issued.

Bazee Jumma Duftore.

This court takes cognizance of adulteries, abortions, and other crimes, that more immediately concern the peace and happiness of private families, grants for lands, and public works for the accommodation of travellers, such as Tanks, or ponds of water, Serais, or resting places, &c. are issued from this court.

Karidge Duftore.

The landholders accounts, when settled, are sent to this court for payment; and in such cases where the debtor is incapable of paying the amount, a power is lodged in this court to compromise the debt.

* * * *

ALL the proceedings of these COURTS, and evidence given (except in matters of a trifling nature) are recorded; and no orders of these courts in Burdwan can be executed, until approved and signed by the Rajah, or supreme governor of the province, and by the English resident on the part of the Company as Dewan. This last regulation was found necessary to repress the extreme corruption which before prevailed. It must be confessed that this power is very great, although an improper use of it is in some measure prevented by the checks interposed. That the present system of government is an improvement, may be seen from the flourishing state of the province, and from the condition of the Company's revenues.

An appeal against the conduct of the resident may at all times be made to the governor and council.

No. 133.

The President's Minute, respecting the Calcutta lands.

I now beg leave to lay before you the result of my long and laborious researches into the Calcutta lands.

By

By the several accounts taken at different times of the measurement of the twenty-four Purgunnahs, it appears, that the whole of the lands amount to 1,082,543 Begas, and fifteen Cottas of ground*, which has been cultivated; but on account of charities, lands pretended to be deserted, and others again secreted, not above two thirds of this measurement have actually paid rents to the Company.

A research into the cause of this deficiency, (being well convinced that, instead of a decrease, there has been a considerable increase of the inhabitants on the Company's lands,) is what has particularly engaged my time and attention.

On an examination of the charity lands it appears, that when the Company received charge of these Purgunnahs, the total of lands assigned for this purpose (an account of which was delivered in by the Zemeendars themselves) amounted to

	Begas.	C.	G.
amounted to - - - - - - - - - -	217,452	19	8
since when there has been resumed - - - -	14,971	1	0
so that the total of the charity lands should stand at - -	202,481	18	8

Instead of which it has, by some means, probably by the villainy of the black servants in office, increased since that time to no less than 263,702 Begas, 2 Cottas, 8 Gundas, by which the Company has been deprived of the annual rent of 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, most, if not all, of which has most probably been disposed of amongst the black servants in office, or their dependents.

In the account of these lands, it is said that 25,679 Begas, 13 Cottas, have been lying uncultivated for a considerable time. As they were originally designed for, and appropriated to the immediate maintenance and support of poor people, or to religious purposes, they could be of use only whilst they were cultivated; and ought immediately, as they became neglected by the people who had the charge of them, to have been resumed, according to the custom of the country, by the Company. I judge a considerable addition might be made to the revenues by obliging every person to produce the Sunnud by which he is entitled to hold these lands. The amount of the lands allotted to the above charitable purposes, after resuming the 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, I think is very considerable; for estimating the 202,481 Begas, 18 Cottas, 8 Gundas, at the medium rent of the other lands, the annual revenue will be no less than 314,638 rupees.

The amount of the Ryotty lands, or those which are farmed out, appears on the Cutcherry books to be 591,172 Begas, 9 Cottas, producing an annual revenue of 1,012,305 rupees, 12 Annas. There have, moreover, stood under this head 29,363 Begas, 3 Cottas, 12 Gundas, said to be uncultivated; but from the several examinations made therein, I am of opinion that it is mostly cultivated, and ought to be brought to the immediate credit of the revenue. It also appears, that the lands held by the servants in office, and their dependents, have been estimated at a less rent than they should have been by 15,877 rupees, 5 Annas, 13 Pice, which will likewise be brought to account; as I see no necessity for douceurs, where every man employed by the Company receives his monthly allowance. Nor can I trace by what authority they hold them at the low rate they have hitherto done.

Under the head of Commâr, or lands cultivated by contract, there appears to be 198,305 Begas, 19 Cottas, 12 Gundas. The amount of these lands must ever be uncertain, as the rents being paid in the products of the land, their value depends wholly on the sale of such products. However, estimating them on a medium by what they have hitherto yielded, their rents will amount to 291,842 rupees, 10 Annas, 11 Pice.

* The measurement of land in Bengal is thus estimated;
16 Gundas make 1 Cotta,
20 Cottas = 1 Bega, or about 16,000 square feet.

From

From hence the present estimate of the land will stand as follows:

	Begas,	Cottas,	Gundas.		Rupees,	Annas,	Pice.
Charity,	61,220	4	0	Resumed what was introduced under this head of which there is at present			
cultivated	35,540	11	0	to yield at a very low rent	43,720	6	19
Ryotty	591,172	9	0	Rupees 1,012,305 12 0			
Ditto, said to be uncultivated, brought to account.	29,363	3	12	26,645 3 1	1,038,950	15	1
Commâr,	198,305	19	12		291,842	10	11
Charity lands untenanted	25,679	13	0		15,009	6	8
Lands held by the servants at an under rent					15,877	5	13
Tallook Darans, Rent fixt					258	11	0
Gaut Ektear-pore, Ditto					201	0	0
					1,405,860	7	12
Charity lands paying no rent.	202,481	18	8	valued at	314,638	0	0
Begas	1,082,543	15	0				

This amount is what I think may be reasonably expected for the 24 Purgunnahs, as you will be pleased to observe, that by the extreme low estimation I have put on all such lands as are now resumed, I allow a possibility of some not being immediately cultivated; but the anxious endeavours of the persons who were the best acquainted with these lands, to conceal from me all they possibly could, convinces me that they are actually cultivated, and that the Company is unjustly deprived of its rights; for these people could, otherwise, have no interest in keeping from our knowledge their real state. Indeed, from the best information I can obtain, there are scarcely any uncultivated, and if so, their rents ought to be immediately raised to the full rate of the other lands, which in general is much more reasonable than in any other part of the country; as a proof of which I now lay before you the rents of two Purgunnahs in the Burdwan country.

In order to point out clearly where the lands lie, and to realize what I have above estimated, I have given a particular statement of each Purgunnah; also the different rates at which the rents of the lands are collected, estimated from their several products. Likewise a list of the rates at which the rents of the Burdwan lands are collected, estimated from their products; by comparing which it will appear how low the Calcutta rents are to those of Burdwan.

In the estimate I have before formed, by which the value of the lands appears to be 1,405,860 rupees, 7 Annas, 12 Pice. I made no addition on account of the three Purgunnahs not yet measured, Medunmull, Hatteâgur, and Borritch-Hautty. These, at the most reasonable estimation, will yield an increase of 50,000 rupees, when their measurement is ascertained, which I would recommend to be done as soon as possible.

The

The measurement of the Purgunnahs, Calcutta, Ballea, Maugora, and Causpore, requires an examination; as I am informed, that it has not been properly taken, and that they will admit of a considerable increase in the rents.

These, together with the Batta of rupees, Bazee Jumma, or collections made in the Purgunnah Cutcherries, Salammies on weddings, and visitations of the Dees, called Didarry, farms of Tuffauls, salt and wax, duties collected in the markets and Gauts, interest on money advanced for cultivation, repairs of dykes and bridges, rents of the Collarries, the fifteen Dees, and of Calcutta town, are none of them included in the estimation I have laid before you. They also require a particular scrutiny, as well as the expences attending the collections; and I am perfectly sensible that many lands are still held at a low unequitable rent, though the intricacies and delays attending these matters have prevented my finding them out.

I likewise lay before you a statement of the collections from May 1763, to the present time, by which you will see that there is due to the Company the sum of 1,141,602 rupees, 10 Annas, 9 Pice, a great part of which I judge may be recovered.

The farmers who formerly rented the lands appear, on the adjustment of the several accounts, to be indebted to the Company, as per list inclosed, 35,148 Sicca rupees, 11 Annas, 5 Pice. This sum should be demanded, and brought to the Company's account; or if any particular considerations have been allowed them, the same should appear in the Cutcherry books, and their accounts be finally closed.

As it will be impossible to fix the just value of the lands until their measurement and products can be ascertained, I would recommend that as many capable surveyors as could be procured, should be employed on this business. They should be directed to form a register of all the Ryots, the quantity of land each holds, and the usual product; when each Ryot might have inserted in his Pottah the measurement of his lands, and the annual or monthly rent he is to pay. This will prevent the impositions of the black servants, or, if you farm the lands, any oppression of the farmers.

The more I have examined into the state of these Purgunnahs, the more I am convinced of the considerable improvements that may be made therein. I have communicated the discoveries I have made to several of the persons who were appointed by the Select Committee to farm the lands, should the Company let them out this year; and I believe they would willingly take them at a great increase above what was paid last year, but nothing adequate to the real value. I therefore think that unless they come nearly to the estimate I have made, the rents should be collected on the Company's account for another season; and I doubt not but by that time the farmers will be sensible that the estimation I have put on them is far below their real value.

Fort William, April 29th, 1767.

H. VERELST.

No.

No. 134.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated August 16th, 1769.

The Committee having maturely considered the several important contents of the President's and Mr. Becher's joint letter, together with their separate opinions of the general state of these provinces—are of opinion, that the present state of the revenues, public and private commerce, manufactures and agriculture, are such as give room for the most serious apprehension; and that the decline in each of those grand concerns has spread itself so as to have produced a crisis in our affairs, which, (unless speedily and properly attended to, whilst there are measures left in the country, of which there can be no doubt but there are yet many,) must, in a great measure, disappoint our future expectations from these possessions.

The Committee, having endeavoured to trace and assign the true cause of our declining situation, unanimously agree, that the following imperfections in the formation and conduct of the system hitherto pursued, are the grand and original sources thereof.

1. The want of sufficient checks in the instruments of government, who are generally adventurers from Persia, educated in the manners and principles of a government where tyranny, corruption, and anarchy are predominant; who are strangers to the customs, and indifferent to the welfare of this country; and who cannot by any vigilance be restrained, or by any severity be deterred from practising their native oppressions, over a timid, servile, and defenceless people.

2. The delegation of a trust and authority to one, or to a few, which require the abilities and activity of many to execute; an error which is notoriously the cause of those departments being worse administered, but give rise to a complex corruption, which is difficult, if not impossible to be detected. The avenues of justice are by those means obstructed, and the injured are frequently at a loss where to prefer their complaints, and in whom the right of decision is invested.

3. The ignorance of the real produce and capacity of the country, in which we are necessarily kept by a set of men, who first deceive us from interest, and afterwards continue the deception from fear of punishment, and a necessary regard to their own safety.

4. The numerous train of dependents and underlings, whom the collectors entertain; whose demands, as well as the avarice of their principals, are to be satisfied from the spoils of the industrious Ryot; who thus loses all confidence in the government, and seeks protection in other places, where he has better hopes to see his industry rewarded.

5. The venality which forms part of the genius of the people, and which is known to be openly exercised, or tacitly allowed by government, without drawing any shame or discredit on the guilty; or being thought any peculiar hardship on the injured.

6. The collusion of the collectors with the Zemeendars; whom the collector employs as a tool to serve his mal-practices, or admits an associate in his fraudulent gains.

7. The

7. The oppressions to which the Ryot is subject from the multitude of Gomastahs and their dependents; on which subject the President has been sufficiently explicit in his minute on the state of commerce.

8. The Committee are convinced that this degree of power without controul, of knowledge without participation, and of influence without any effectual counter-action, is too important and replete in the consequences to be vested in any three ministers, or rather one single man; who, allowing him the clearest preference for integrity, ability, and attachment among his countrymen, cannot be supposed superior to temptation; and, at least, ought not, in good policy, to be trusted so extensively and independently as has been necessarily the consequence of the present system: while the Company are, in reality, the principals in the revenues of this country, and the most interested in the good conduct of its government, every bar should be removed that tends to preclude them from a knowledge of its real state. In the above causes, and others deducible from them, the Committee discerns, with great regret, the original source and present inveteracy of many of those evils, under which these provinces are at present oppressed.

The frequent and peremptory restrictions which the Court of Directors had thought proper to impose on us, and that line of conduct from which no deviation was allowed, and the smallest surveyed with jealousy, have hitherto left us without any choice of measures, freedom of action, or power of reformation.

Their last letter has now offered us the sanction that was so essentially necessary for the welfare and improvement of these provinces, as well as for our own vindication in the pursuit of such plans as we may judge adviseable to adopt. By that letter, the Directors seem to approve of the distribution and allotment of the country into farms, and of the appointment of European gentlemen to supervise the different provinces, and to controul the conduct of the agents of the country government. From this permission, we have a well-grounded expectation of success to our design of introducing new regulations; and the event will, we are flattered, be the strongest confirmation of the propriety of those regulations.

We have always acted as far as the nature of the occasion would allow, with the most scrupulous regard to the rules prescribed to us by our employers; and, on our first accession to the Dewanny, chose rather to assume the slow, but certain conviction of experience for our guide, than attempt innovations on the precarious foundation of opinion. But now that whole pages of our records are filled with so many incontestible evidences, that great alterations are wanting to form a mode of collection, which may be restrictive to the collector, and indulgent to the Ryot, we are happy in finding the sentiments of our employers so aptly correspondent to our opinion, and the necessity of the juncture. Every person of any substance or character in this country, has been successively tried in the department of the collections. Fear, reward, severity, and indulgence, have all failed, and ended in a short political forbearance, or additional acts of dishonesty and rapine.

On an alarm of inspection, or at the annual Poonah, they frame accounts to serve the occasion; or by involving them in confusion and ambiguity, waste time till it becomes too late to continue the process against them, without hazarding new losses in the revenue: and thus the culpable not only escape punishment, but often obtain a prolongation of their appointments. Many flagrant grievances reach our ears, but, in a country of such extent, there are, doubtless, many more concealed from us; and, what is equally true under our present disadvantages, they are, and must remain inexplorable; we can neither redress grievances, nor effect improvements. With regard to the former, our distance and our too indirect information through ministerial

channels, set the offender beyond our reach, and the impossibility of having time and competent knowledge puts the latter out of our power.

Enough has been said, and more might be produced, to prove that the system, established and now pursuing in this country, is deficient in every particular that is requisite to defend and support the poor, from the injustice and oppression of the strong, and to increase its value to its possessors, by promoting the industry of the Ryot and manufacturer.

That although we have seen these evils growing and preying upon the vitals of the country, we have been unable to stop their progress, or afford effectual protection to the people.

Lastly, that we can never hope to emerge from that uncertainty and ignorance into which this system has thrown us, whilst we sit tamely and will admit of no variation in it.

Let us now turn our eyes and attention to a more pleasing scene; to Burdwan, and the rest of the Company's proprietary lands, where we ourselves have been the managers. Plenty, content, population, increase of revenue, without increase of burthen, are now the effects; and form so forcible an argument in the comparative view, that nothing can strengthen, nothing can render it plainer or more convincing.

And here the Committee cannot hesitate in drawing a decisive conclusion;—that the same or similar regulations be established throughout the provinces in every distinct district. The same beneficial consequences to the country and Company may be expected from them, and by an increased security of the property of individuals, as also by an encouragement to cultivation and commerce, they may give a new flow to the circulation of specie, which is become so limited as to affect every rank and profession.

The Committee are sensible that much application, integrity, good conduct and time, will be necessary to retrieve the desolations of the collectors; to raise the sinking heart of the Ryot from despair to confidence and hope; to re-people and settle the deserted and uncultivated tracts, and to take every advantage of the abundant fertility of the lands.

The progress towards this desirable change must be gradual. We have yet but an imperfect knowledge of the soil, the productions, the value, the capacity of the various provinces, and subdivisions of the country. This, however, is the foundation on which, and which only, we can build with success, and direct our grand design with judgment; and to acquire this knowledge should therefore be our first care, by means of the minutest local investigation, for none other can give us an authentic record to refer to on every occasion as an established authority: nor can we judge of the lenity, rigour, or propriety of any of our resolutions respecting the country, without such a work completely and accurately executed.

The Committee, concurring in the necessity of pursuing the above work in the most effectual manner, that when perfected they may proceed in the important business before them; and being farther induced by the opinion of the Court of Directors, expressed in their last letter of the 11th November, 1768,—agree unanimously to the following resolutions;—

That, in every province or district, a gentleman in the service be appointed, with or without assistance, in proportion to the extent of the district; whose office or department is to be subordinate to the resident of the Durbar, and managed as is expressly set forth and defined in the following letter of instructions,—which the President has prepared and submitted to our consideration; with such additions as may occasionally be deemed necessary by the resident at the Durbar.

FORM

FORM *of* INSTRUCTIONS *to be issued by the Resident at the Durbar to the several Supra-visors.*

To Mr. ———,

SIR,

As the Board have judged it expedient to appoint supra-visors on behalf of the Company in each particular province, with a view to ascertain in a minute, clear, and comprehensive manner, a variety of circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country; the province of ——— is hereby placed under your inspection, and the following objects are pointed out and distinguished under respective heads, as a direction for your conduct, and an explanation of the service expected from you in your department.

1. A summary History of the Province.

You are to collect, under this head, the form of the ancient constitution of the province, compared with the present; an account of its possessors or rulers, the order of their succession, the revolutions in their families, and their connections; the peculiar customs and privileges which they, or their people—have established and enjoyed; and, in short, every transaction which can serve to trace their origin and progress, or has produced any material changes in the affairs of the province.

2. The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.

The first measure which should occur to your attention in an enquiry of this nature, is to procure a complete Hustabood, or rent-roll, with the number of Begahs, or measures of land, contained in each district, according to the original surveys and measurements, and the method in which they were laid out and appropriated. The next is to fix the ancient boandaries and divisions. This being completed, you may proceed to trace the alterations which chance, favour, art, or oppression, have gradually produced in the face of the country until the present time. Many portions of land have been added to, or separated from the ancient divisions; these should be rigidly scrutinized and carefully noted. The Zemindars have enjoyed considerable tracts rent free, on various pretences, and for various purposes. The abuses in the bestowal and sale of Talooks are notorious, being generally the reward of the creatures of government, obtained by unwarrantable means, and held with extraordinary immunities. The titles of the present possessors should therefore be examined, together with the valuation of such lands before they became Talooks, and before their owners acquired that independent footing; so that some judgment may be formed of their real revenue, and in what degree the limitation of the grant is exceeded by the quantity now held. Charitable and religious donations, which successive princes have made, many through zeal, but most through vanity,—form no inconsiderable part of some districts: and as it may reasonably be supposed, that in a course of years the produce of such benefactions has been misapplied and perverted, or that the particular persons or societies, in whose support they were granted, have fallen or decayed,—it is expected that you diligently search into and report their true state. You are also to particularize the extent, production and value of Jagheers; the titles of the present possessors, &c. as in the Talooks. Of the lands called Coss, which are under the immediate superintendence of government, for want of farmers. Of the Comar, which are lands cultivated by contract. Of the Ryotty, which are tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the spot. And of the waste lands, distinguishing such as are

 cleared

cleared, and have been neglected through a decrease of population, from such as are covered with Jungle*.

These informations, provided they be derived from genuine authorities, and confirmed by an accurate inspection of your own, will enable you to compute what the productions of the country, deducting the consumption of the inhabitants, will yield for the purposes of commerce; and how far the wealth and prosperity of it may be augmented by an encouragement being given to the culture of any particular article, either as a necessary of life, or as a material in manufactures.

3. *The amount of the Revenues, the Cesses, or arbitary Taxes, and of all demands whatsoever which are made on the Ryot, either by Government, Zemeendar, or Collector, with the manner of collecting them; and the gradual rise of every new impost.*

One capital grievance being the inequality of assessments arising from the multitude of Talooks and sequestered lands above-mentioned, you are to penetrate through the chicanery of those employed, and acquire an exact detail of every particular tax or cess; noting in what particular part of the country the burthen falls, where partial exemptions are allowed, and what is the equitable proportion to the whole. Another grievance, which is equal to the former, is the variety of demands which the collector, from the Aumil and Zemeendar to the lowest Pyke, impose without any colour or licence from the government; some of which have been so long exacted and paid, that the Ryots begin to imagine the oppression is sanctified by government, and is not the mere fraud of the collectors. The multiplying of superfluous agents and inferior collectors may be also deemed a source of extortion; and it is a very essential part of your duty to inform yourself in what respect their numbers have been causelessly increased; to enumerate their perquisites, and how much they may be supposed to exceed them. As likewise the expence and arrangement of Gauts and public markets, with the duties collected at each upon the inhabitants or traders, and the application of sums to be levied.

Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes, maintained for the protection of the tenants, are, it is to be feared, too often the instruments of their oppression; at least fall very short of answering the end proposed by them. Accounts should be taken of their number and expence, how they are arranged, and how paid.

A third and equally important object of your attention, under this head, is to fix the amount of what the Zemeendar receives from the Ryot, as his income or emolument; wherein they generally exceed the bounds of moderation, taking advantage of the personal attachment of their people, and of the inefficacy of the present restrictions upon them; since the presence of the Aumil more frequently produces a scene of collusion than a wariness of conduct. When the sum of the produce of the lands, and of each demand on the tenant, is thus ascertained with certainty, the proportion of what remains to him for the support of his family, and encouragement of his industry, will clearly appear, and lead us to the reality of his condition.

Amongst the chief effects which are hoped for from your residence in that province, and which ought to employ and never wander from your attention, are to convince the Ryot that you will stand between him and the hand of oppression; that you will be his refuge and the redresser of his wrongs; that the calamities he has already suffered have sprung from an intermediate cause, and were neither known nor permitted by us; that honest and direct applications to you will never fail producing speedy and equitable decisions: that, after supplying the legal due of government,

* Wood, high grass, or reeds.

be

he may be secure in the enjoyment of the remainder; and, finally, to teach him a veneration and affection for the humane maxims of our government.

4. *The Regulation of Commerce.*

Equal intricacy and similar combinations will be found to oppose your progress in this work. The power, the artifice, the complicated connections of public and private agents, Pycars, and Dellols, will all unite in preserving their usurpations on the manufacturer and Ryot; which they have hitherto done by precluding their access to our tribunals, and destroying every kind of intercourse between them and us. That one enquiry may precede another without confusion, or blending different causes with different effects, you should open your discoveries with an estimate of the productions of every district, both in quantity and kind; the amount of manufactures and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, with the annual duties collected on them; not confining yourself to the present time, but recurring to past years; that, at one view, you may discern their state of increase and decrease; and by remarking the prices and qualities at distinct periods, you will in like manner become acquainted with the improvement or decline in the quality.

Your next consideration is to find the channels through which the several articles, produced by the joint labour of the manufacturer and cultivator, have been diffused. The proportion which fell to the shares of the English, French, Dutch, and other foreigners, as well as to the native merchant; likewise what was retained for the consumption of the districts themselves; concluding this research with a comparative view of the rise and fall in the demand, and stating the ballance of the trade as it occasionally varied in favour of one or the other merchant. After you have advanced thus far, the most difficult and consequential task still remains for you to surmount; which is, to lay open and abolish the several species of imposition which are practised by Gomastahs, Pycars, Dellols, and the whole chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandize pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the store-house of the cultivator, to the public merchant or exporter; so that clandestine agreements and extraordinary demands may no longer exist, to the utter despondency of the poor; but a way being opened for them to deal with the fair trader, their industry may be quickened by the certainty of their profits.

5. *The Administration of Justice.*

It is difficult to determine whether the original customs or the degenerate manners of the Mussulmen have most contributed to confound the principles of right and wrong in these provinces. Certain it is, that almost every decision of theirs is a corrupt bargain with the highest bidder. The numerous offences which are compromised by fines have left a great latitude for unjust determinations. Trifling offenders, and even many condemned on fictitious accusations, are frequently loaded with heavy demands, and capital criminals are as often absolved by the venal judge. Your conduct in all capital offences should be to enforce justice where the law demands it, checking every composition by fine or mulct; and where any disputes arise in matters of property, you should recommend the method of arbitration to any other; and inculcate strongly in the minds of the people that we are not desirous to augment our revenue by such impositions, but to acquire their confidence by the equity and impartiality of our proceedings, and by our tenderness for their happiness. The arbitrators should be men chosen by the parties themselves, and of known integrity, and whose circumstances may supppose them exempt from venality, and promise best to insure their rectitude. In capital crimes, the sentence should, before execution, be referred to me, and by me

me to the minifters, that they may ultimately approve or mitigate it, according to the peculiarity of the cafe. You are farther to obferve, that the want of regular regifters of all caufes and determinations has encouraged the natural propenfity of the judge to bribery and fraud, by making him eafy with refpect to any future profecution on a rehearing of the cafes which have been thus partially determined. Whereas, whilft a reference to records is always open, he muft live in perpetual fear of detection. One of thefe regifters fhould be lodged in the principal Cutchery of the province, and an authenticated copy tranfmitted to Murfhed-abad. As to fuits on account of revenues, thefe will, we are flattered, be much obviated in future by the happy confequences of our poffeffing a real, local, and undifguifed knowledge of the country; which we promife ourfelves from the inveftigations above mentioned, and from your diligence and exactnefs in the performance of the feveral duties.

For the Ryot being eafed and fecured from all burthens and demands but what are impofed by the legal authority of goverment itfelf, and future Pottahs * being granted him, fpecifying that demand; he fhould be taught that he is to regard the fame as a facred and inviolable pledge to him, that he is liable to no demands beyond their amount. There can, therefore, be no pretence for fuits on that account; no room for inventive rapacity to practife its ufual arts: all will be fair, open, regular. Every man will know what he can call and defend as his own; and the fpirit of lawlefs encroachment fubfiding, for want of a field for exercife, will be changed into a fpirit of induftry; and content and fecurity will take place of continual alarms and vexations.

I fhall now proceed to give you fuch inftructions for effecting the above points, as experience has proved to be moft eligible; and fhall begin with obferving, on the firft head,—or

The Hiftory of the Provinces.

I would not have you embarrafs yourfelf with records more remote than thofe of the reign of Sujah Cawn; as, at that æra of good order and good government, no alterations had taken place in the ancient divifions of the country, and the confufion which is now apparent has been pofterior to thofe times. From that date, you will probably find records in the public Cutcherry, abounding with every material; but as fome may be deftroyed or mutilated, your refource, in fuch cafes, muft be to confult with men of the beft underftanding and longeft experience in the diftricts, from whom you will moft likely meet with fatisfactory information; and who, from many and prevailing motives, which are deducible from their natural character, will gladly contribute their ftore of knowledge to the account. In the courfe of this reference to living authorities, you will doubtlefs meet with various characters and claffes of men, whofe informations will be tinctured with the prejudices of education, habit, fuperftition, and other failings; but your own judgment muft direct you in extracting the truth, and diftinguifhing between the private biafs of indviduals and the real ftate of facts.

Secondly, The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.

It will require your greateft attention and application to enable you to form a general and particular Huftabood, or rent-roll, of the diftricts. You may, perhaps, find what is called a Huftabood in the Sudder or principal Cutcherry: but this, inftead of fatisfying, muft ftimulate your curiofity; for the contents of it are merely adapted to the private interefts of the Zemêendars, filled with reprefentations defignedly difguifed, to fquare with their offers and accounts with government, loofely, unfaithfully, and partially formed in every inftance. In fact, they can fupply you with little more than a progreffive hiftory of the prefent difmemberments, and only fuggeft

* Leafes.

suggest to you the degree of oppression which the multiplication of collectors and charges has, on that account, from time to time, brought upon the Ryots.

After this, you are to proceed to a local investigation of the quantity of lands and their rents, which is to be performed by visiting each division yourself, and calling upon the Zemeendar or head-collector for the Hustabood of the division under his management. But you are not to content yourself with this: from hence you are to descend to the subdivisions of the grand district, and to the small Cutcherries of each collector, however inconsiderable; and this will procure you a list of the Pottahs as distributed to every Ryot, and supposed to contain the quantity of land possessed by each, and the amount of rent with which it is charged. Thus you will be enabled to ascertain how far the Hustaboods given in by the collectors of the grand divisions differ from the Hustaboods of the lesser, from the principal down to the smallest subdivision. And by taking the sum of any number of Pottahs in any particular place, and comparing the amount of those Pottahs with the amount specified in the Hustaboods, you will arrive at a medium certainty of the excess or deficiency of the lands and rents as rated therein. And accordingly as the error or fallaciousness of the accounts shall appear to require it, you are to cause an exact measurement to be taken of portions of land in different places, in order to arrive at a judgment of the whole from the proportional parts. And that no collusion between the Zemeendars and collectors may retard, elude, and counteract these important enquiries, the fear of losing their Zemeendarry or employment should be held up to them; and if you find the association against you strong and obstinate, upon a representation and ample proofs of his misconduct produced to me, you may be assured that examples shall be immediately ordered, and every delinquent be made sensible that there is no room for lenity where collusive oppression is continued in defiance of all restriction. The Ryot too should be impressed in the most forcible and convincing manner, that the tendency of your measures is to his ease and relief; that every opposition to them is rivetting his own chains, and confirming his servitude and dependence on his oppressors; that our object is not increase of rents, or the accumulation of demands, but solely by fixing such as are legal, explaining and abolishing such as are fraudulent and unauthorised, not only to redress his present grievances, but to secure him from all farther invasions of his property.

I must here introduce a remark, which I recommend to your particular attention: if it should happen, that some very authentic and positive evidence is required to establish a particular suspicion, or that you are inclined to distrust an information; there is one, and indeed only one, safe, and easy method of proceeding. Select an intermediate person, unsuspected either by the officers of the government or your own dependents, give him his orders yourself, and let him chuse another of the same occupation with the person from whom you would seek the information, who may be so entirely removed from you, and so peculiarly connected as to create no surmise of his commission; and let him, with the confidence and familiarity of an equal and fellow-sufferer, pretend to consult the other on his grievances and the means of redress. This will naturally produce the same openness on the other side, and he will readily obtain a sight or copies of any papers, agreements, &c. which may be wanting; and you will be in possession of them before the alarm of an enquiry can spread among the guilty, and give them an opportunity of combining against you.

On the contrary, were those precautions omitted, and a publicly announced scrutiny attempted, you must have a thousand obstructions to contend with, which are all obviated by the above mode of secrecy, and the use of intermediate agents, whom you may employ to any number, and contrive to check in such a manner as will deprive them of the power of deceiving you. Small rewards may likewise have weight, and

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ought not to be neglected; and it is not to be doubted, but that by a proper and prudent application of them, joined to the above-mentioned hints, you will become master of a perfect and extensive intelligence of every circumstance, however minute and inveloped. The evasions and artifices which are familiar to the natives of this country have often been succesful in screening them from that open and manifest detection which can justify punishment. The good consequence of that positive evidence above mentioned, in any cases where the Zemeendar or collector are concerned, and rely on their customary defences, will put it in your power to call them to a public examination, and render their crime and their punishment equally notorious, without subjecting the authors of your information to the resentment of the Zemeendars, or the obloquy of their neighbours.

Having thus obtained sufficient and authentic accounts of the rent-rolls of the districts, by searching into the papers and records of the smallest as well as the largest, comparing their respective Hustaboods, surveying and measuring the lands which appear rated above or below their real value and extent, you are to bring your investigation home to the Zemeendar. For this purpose, the records are to be consulted, and the periods most applicable to the design seem to be these three; the government of Sujah Cawn, of Aliverdy Cawn, and the present. By collating the Hustaboods given in by the Zemeendars with those you obtain from the smaller districts, you will distinguish the quantity of land which they have usurped from the government, and enjoy for their own use and advantage, free of rent. And again, by opposing the sum of the Pottahs of any particular space in any subdivision to the sum stated in its Hustabood, you will also lay open the shares which the petty collectors and their dependents have acquired for themselves, after the example of their principals; for this species of fraud is carried on by general connivance, from the heads to the lowest denominations. All lands which are found to have been thus illegally dismembered, are to be immediately re-annexed, and a resumption set on foot by government.

Besides these advantages which the Zemeendar possesses by the secret appropriation of land, and has secured to himself by partial Hustaboods, he has an originally allowed title to the freehold of some lands, and to the enjoyment of some perquisites; but abuses have crept alike into them all. The meaning and intent of his being indulged with such exclusive possessions was to supply his family with the necessaries and conveniencies of life. Under the name of Nejaut and Nankor, one spot was to yield him rice, another was allotted to him as pasture; a particular tank was to afford him fish and water; and, in like manner, distinct spots were given up to him for every distinct article of consumption. Though this indulgence was confined to this purpose only, there is just cause for supposing that he has extended his claims, and availed himself of opportunities to lay his hands on the revenues of the government, and on the property of the Ryots, where he has no foundation of right, nor colour of pretence.

The Nuzzer-anna, which is called Sedee, and consists both in provisions and money, is an instance of it; and neither he nor his attendants move from one place to another, without demanding and exacting it from the inhabitants of his district; a custom which ought to be permitted only under restrictions, and in a manner that the Ryots may not wantonly be despoiled, but the demand limited to a reasonable contribution.

Another considerable source of profit to him is the levying of fines at will, which is a power that ought to be totally extinguished. He likewise raises large sums from duties collected in the markets, and assumes an authority over the Ryots to require their labour gratuitously, which sometimes might be allowed, were not the poor labourer too often taken under this pretence from his own immediately necessary duty, to attend the mere arbitrary pleasure of his Zemeendar, who receives large presents out of the various productions of the district, which, though intended originally for his

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own private consumption, is often sold by his dependents. Add to these, he frequently claims a Batta on rupees at an arbitrary valuation, which is an illegal perquisite, and ought to be discontinued in future. These, and all such excesses in the Zemeendar, which need not be here mentioned, as they will open to you as you proceed, should be retrenched; and all his emoluments of every kind be reduced to the fulfilling the purposes for which they were granted, and there bounded.

The Talooks, Jagheers, and charitable or religious donations come next under consideration. You are to call for a particular account of all lands which are held on these tenures; and that every motive to concealment may be destroyed, it should be particularly notified, that whatever proprietor delays reporting his name, and the state of his grants or purchases, after a time prefixed, is to forfeit them to the government. By taking care to fix the period for registering their Sunnuds far beyond what is necessary, you will anticipate all pleas which may be presented in behalf of neglects, and have no room to dispute the equity of the forfeiture.

I have before taken notice of the undue means of obtaining Talooks, which are either bestowed on some favourite or underling of the government, or purchased by one individual of another; but as the title cannot stand clear or valid, without a confirmation of it from the Nabob, in both cases where such cannot be made appear, the title becomes void, and the Talook reverts to the government.

For these reasons you should enter deeply and strictly into the merits of the Talookdars, with respect to their families, their connections and pretensions; and particularly remark the flaws and exceptions which occur to you.

The increase in the number of Talooks has been highly impolitic, and detrimental to the general prosperity, and to the diffusion of population in the country. The tenants of a Talook are possessed of so many indulgencies, and taxed with such evident partiality and tenderness in proportion to the rest, that the Talooks generally swarm with inhabitants whilst other parts are deserted; and in addition to the natural desire of changing from a worse to a better situation, inticements are frequently employed by the Talookdars to augment the concourse to their lands. They have also, at favourable seasons, when the government was busied in other affairs, or weakened by faction, made considerable encroachments, and most probably possess extensive tracts beyond the original grants. Now it ought to be remembered that the welfare and good of the whole was never intended to be sacrificed to the enriching of a few, perhaps worthless, individuals; who can shew no pretence to these peculiar advantages, but a prostitution of their integrity to their avarice. Your aim must, therefore, be to remove all distinctions, to bring every man upon a footing with his neighbour, to lighten the burthen on the whole by making it equal and impartial, and to enforce the the surrender of lands unlawfully possessed.

Jagheers are always, as Talooks are sometimes, rewards to particular persons; but differ from them in being gifts of the crown, confirmed only by the Nizam. The grants are either hereditary or expirable with life; the same accounts are to be taken of them. Defective titles in the Jagheerdars, and a transgression of the order for appearing and registering their Sunnuds, are to be attended with the same consequences.

As to charitable or religious donations, the lands so sequestered are to be estimated with regard to their extent, productions, and value; if the amount appears to exceed the endowment of the institution, the overplus should be brought to credit; if the institutions are decayed or perverted, they should be entirely abolished, and the revenues re-assumed by government.

The Coss lands, which are superintended by government for want of farmers, are specified in the accounts of the Sudder Cutcherry. As it imports us to know whether

accidental causes, or the malversations of the managers of such lands have been the primary cause of their decay, you will make a full and circumstantial report thereof. And as it may be apprehended that even since their falling under the hands of government, the time and attention of the public officers have been employed rather in gleaning the small remains of substance from them, than in nourishing and recovering them from distress, their conduct should be examined. The truest test of it will be your ascertaining the produce of the lands under the last farmer before they became Coss, and what has been received from them since; which will point out the improvement or decrease by their superintendence. And if it should be found that the lands have been falling instead of rising in value, there can be no doubt of the unfitness of such men, nor any hopes of seeing the Coss lands peopled, cultivated, and prospering under their hands. After a due consideration of their present state, public notice should be given that we are ready to receive offers for farming them at a term of two, three, four, or five years, at an annual increasing rent; at the end of which period they are to pay the same as other lands, and to be subjected to all orders which may be occasionally issued by government for the regulation of the revenues, and country in general.

The Comar lands, having no native tenants, are cultivated by contract. The custom and terms of contract are various in various districts, but, in general, there is one settled rule. An advance in money is made by the Zemêendar to the cultivator, by the help of which he tills and improves the land. When the crops are cut and gathered in, they are generally divided between the cultivator and the Zemêendar; from one third to one half to the cultivator, and the remainder to the Zemêendar; when the former accounts with the latter for the amount of the advances, which are often taxed by the Zemêendar with an heavy interest, or fraudulently exceeded by an arbitrary valuation, far below the market price of the goods or products of the lands, in which he is paid. Your object is to inform yourself what the cultivator really receives for his labour, and in what he is injured; and secondly, what the Zemêendar embezzles and secretes from government by an undervaluation of the productions of the soil which he thus receives, sinking the amount of the returns; and by other means which serve to deceive us, and obstruct the progress of cultivation in these lands. In all which, I apprehend, you will find no difficulty if you only ascertain the amount and market price of these products, and compare them with what the Zemêendar brings publicly to the credit of government; and comparing the accounts of the Zemêendar with those of the cultivator, it will expose the total of his undue acquisitions, enable you to penetrate through the arts of concealment, and give you a thread by which to unravel the whole gradation of collusive fraud in this particular. As the unequal diffusion of inhabitants has been the cause of this scarcity of cultivation in different parts, every expedient should be used to encourage people to settle on the Comar and waste lands, that they may be converted into Ryotty. The great towns, whose populousness only serves to propagate poverty and idleness, might undoubtedly afford numbers of useful hands, who in their present situations are either a burthen or a pest to the community. These should be sought out, and taught to apply to culture, setting such prospects and expectations in their view as will engage their consent. The Talooks and Jagheers will likewise be found to contain many idle, and these unserviceable, hands; who may, in like manner, be induced to transplant themselves to these lands, and become farmers.

Lastly, I shall speak of the Ryotty lands. The quantity in measurement as well as revenue, will appear from the several Pottahs granted, after the enquiry before recommended; and the amount product in kind you will acquire by ascertaining what is really produced on some portions of land of each different soil, which you may select

select for this purpose, and so draw a general medium of the product of the whole Ryotty.

This you may farther check by a comparison of the amount total with that of the Comar, which being received in kind by the cultivator and landlord, the aggregate may be more truly and readily known. In the same manner, the produce of Jagheer lands, Talookdarries, and lands for religious purposes, may be also obtained.

You will doubtless readily meet with an account of waste or uncultivated lands, as they stand recorded in the Cutcherries; but here you will probably find a large field of collusion; for whatever lands have been once wrote from the revenue under this head, tho' possibly deserted but for a short time, little has seldom been brought on again to the public credit. This will appear by your taking accounts of the waste lands, as they stand recorded at different periods of time, and from them noting their gradual increase or decrease. Nothing can ascertain the present state of those lands so well as a local investigation. You will probably find them to be a fund to the Zemeendar, or collector, for their creatures or dependents, who enjoy many flourishing and fertile tracts thus denominated; all which should be immediately resumed.

Having thus clearly distinguished the amount measurement of the several lands, and their products of kind, as also the land revenue; the cesses, or arbitrary taxes, must engage your attention. On these subjects I have already spoken in part, and shall now consider what is yet to be done by you.

The truth cannot be doubted that the poor and industrious tenant is taxed by his Zemêendar, or collector, for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or intemperance may lead him into, over and above what is generally deemed the established rent of his lands. If he is to be married, a child born, honours conferred, luxury indulged, and Nuzzer-ânnas, or fines, exacted, even for his own misconduct, all must be paid by the Ryot. And, what heightens the distressful scene, the more opulent, who can better obtain redress for imposition, escape; while the weaker are obliged to submit.

To obtain an account of these cesses, or imposts, there cannot be a more certain method than what I have before recommended, of getting from the Ryot himself a statement of what he actually pays over and above his established rents, and from this you are to draw a medium amount of the cesses levied upon the whole. This should be set against the amount of the established rents of lands so cessed. You are then to obtain the amount revenue of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; and inform yourself whether they bear any part, and what proportion, of this burthen; in order that a comparative view may be drawn of the partiality of these cesses, and what proportion they bear to the lands and revenues of the whole province.

The number, distribution, and pay of Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes are next. Their maintainance arises from lands set apart for their use, but they are known frequently to exact articles of provision and other things from the Ryots, and possess too great a latitude over the property and persons of the poor.

You must call upon the Zemêendar for a list of these Pykes and their stations, and enquire how far they answer the purposes of their institution, or have been multiplied without cause. You should endeavour to point out another and better method of providing for and restricting them in their duty; an established allowance, or something which may be determinate, and not tend to the exercise of any power beyond that of their duty, would be most suitable; and, on this plan, I recommend it to you to reform them.

A list of all Gauts and public markets is also to be procured from the Zemêendar, together with a list of the established duties ordered to be collected at each. This

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being obtained, you are to enquire how far the Drogahs and Cutwals have been guilty of levying undue and illegal duties on the trader or inhabitants. A minute enquiry into their conduct, and accounts on the spot, is necessary to effect this. Persons should be applied to, who can produce the exact amount of goods they have themselves passed at the Gaut or market, and the duties they have paid, as a check to the accounts given in by the Drogahs and others. At the markets and Gauts situated on the borders of the province, should be kept an accurate account of all exports and imports, specifying the amount, sortment, and quality of each article, with the duties upon each; that the proportion which the exports bear to the imports may be estimated, and a just opinion formed what assistance the province may need from, and in what degree it can contribute to, the supply of its neighbours, and the purposes of commerce.

Having, by these means, obtained an account of all public and private collections and impositions on the Ryot and trader, you will have a set of materials in your hands from which you may venture to form a real Hustabood; to contain the quantity, productions, and rent of all cultivated lands under government; and likewise the quantity, productions, and value of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; which you will draw up according to the form accompanying, and transmit to me, with such annexed remarks, observations, and proposals of your own, as you may judge important and conducive to the improvement of the lands, the content of the Ryot, the extension and relief of trade, the increase and encouragement of any useful manufacture or production of the soil, and to the general benefit and happiness of the province in every consideration and point of view.

One thing more remains for me to add, which is, that, at the expiration of every year, the accounts of the province are to be closed, and that a separate and early state of balances be made up, noting the causes of their being incurred, and transmit the same to Murshed-abad; and you are not to suffer the accounts of one year in any point to interfere or be blended with those of another.

The Regulation of Commerce.

I shall now deliver my opinion on the means of perfecting such of those points under this head as are likely to give you most trouble. The enquiry which I have recommended to be set on foot into the amount of the manufactures, and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, should be opened by requiring from the collector, or head man of each district, a list of those who reside therein, with their respective employments. That the estimate of the stock of labour may be as clear and perfect as possible, you may employ the following checks and collateral arguments: it is only the finer sort of cloth, used in the general run of commerce, that costs twelve days in the loom; the assortments which come to about five rupees per piece, require only eight days; yet as I allow an extra time for the manufacturer to go to market and purchase new thread and implements, before he can renew his work, I therefore, for the greater precision, set down the whole expence of time at twelve days.

Supposing, then, a manufacturer can furnish one piece of cloth, of the size of twenty-four cubits by two, and of the value of five rupees, in the space of twelve days; you may proceed to calculate what any number of hands, in any given space of time, ought to perform by the same rule.

A second check on this estimate will be the account of exports, after making a reasonable allowance for home consumption; and as to the collector or Zemeendar's report of the number and employments of the manufacturers in his district, it will be sufficient

sufficient to apply to the Dellols, Pycars, or brokers, without whom scarce any manufacturers deal, for their number, which will serve as a farther and collateral check to the former. In your progress towards an abolition of secret emoluments and abuses in trade, you are to consider that an open and public enquiry would in many cases, as in the revenues, multiply difficulties, if not totally defeat the end of your labours. To proceed with any hopes of arriving at the truth, you must employ a person who may be quite a stranger to the agents and their trade, to engage a second, and he a third, to purchase at the established markets, as for his own use, samples of different articles of trade.

Others should be employed in the same manner, and with the same caution, to obtain a sight or copies of such adjustments of accounts as have passed between the first manufacturer and the purchaser, whether Pycar, Dellol, or merchant. These accounts, if authentic, will disclose the first cost, and the private purchases above recommended will shew the market price; which, set against the agents accounts, will clearly denominate whether the fair and just value has been paid for the goods, and and what are the express advantages accruing to the agent and his accomplices. Nuzzer-ânnas, brokerage, discount on rupees, interest on advances, fines for non-compliance with terms of contract, are the chief; and all are deducted after an apparent and nominal rate of market price has been previously fixed to the goods. When these gains, acquired by the Pycars, Dellols, and agents, from the multiplicity of taxes on the manufacturer, which have been laid on by collusion, and removed from our eyes by distance and estrangement, industriously brought about between us and him, are, in the above manner, severally detected and abolished; you are to adopt these measures for the introduction of fair dealing, and the dissolution of clandestine compacts of particular sets of men, formed to rob the manufacturer of his due, and to accumulate to themselves and their dependents, what ought to be free and beneficial to all. Use every means, and hold up every inducement to the manufacturer, to bring his goods to public market, and to make his bargain openly and directly himself. Order daily registers of the amount, quality, and price of goods sold, and of the prices of goods for which advances have been made; and allow no goods to be taken away from the market until they have been registered, under a penalty of a double duty, or something of that kind. Let it be your constant employment to make these principles and maxims universally understood and adopted by all collectors, Zemeendars, and every public agent; that commerce and agriculture mutually assist each other, and thrive from the same causes. That as the freedom of the one becomes better established and the diffusions more general, the advantages of the other will be proportionable.

The Ryot will, consequently, find the demand for his labour more extensive, and his situation made easier and happier by the additional flow of money into the province.

The Administration of Justice.

The instance where venal, ignorant, and rapacious judges avail themselves of a crude and mercenary system of laws, of the prevalence of licentiousness, and the force of reigning habits and customs, have been already mentioned. I can only repeat, that it is your part to endeavour to reform all these corruptions which have encroached on the primitive rights of both the Mahomedans and Hindoos; particularly by abolishing the arbitrary imposition of fines, and recommending all in your power the more equitable method of arbitration.

The officers of justice and Kazzies, who are established by the Mahomedan law, as also the Bramins, who administer justice among the Hindoos, in every village, town,

town, and quarter, should all be summoned to appear, produce their Sunnuds, or authority for acting, and register them. Records, of whatever cases are heard and determined, are to be sent to and deposited in the Sudder Cutcherry of the province; and a monthly return thereof forwarded to Murshed-abad.

The register of Sunnuds is intended to deter any from exercising a judicial, because lucrative function, who may not be legally appointed by government, if a Mahomedan, or fairly elected by his cast, if a Hindoo. And the depositing of all cases and determinations, added to the other regulation, will figure to the several officers a vigorous and observant power, watching all their actions, and, in case of abuses, direct you at once to the culpable.

The peculiar punishment of forfeiting casts, to which the Hindoos are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and personal resentment amongst themselves; and requires to be restrained to those occasions only where there may be a regular process, and clear proofs of the offence before the Bramins, who are their natural judges. But when any man has naturally forfeited his cast, you are to observe that he cannot be restored to it, without the sanction of government; which was a political supremacy reserved to themselves by the Mahomedans, and which, as it publicly asserts the subordination of Hindoos, who are so considerable a majority of subjects, ought not to be laid down; though every indulgence and privilege of cast should be otherwise allowed them.

Having now spoken to all points which at present occur, and are looked for from your appointment, I shall here subjoin some remarks on the importance of the object, and your own conduct in the pursuit of it.

Your commission entrusts you with the superintendance and charge of a province, whose rise and fall must considerably affect the public welfare of the whole. The exploring and eradicating numberless oppressions which are as grievous to the poor as they are injurious to the government; the displaying of those national principles of honour, faith, rectitude, and humanity, which should ever characterise the name of an Englishman; the impressing the lowest individual with these ideas, and raising the heart of the Ryot from oppression and despondency to security and joy, are the valuable benefits which must result to our nation from a prudent and wise behaviour on your part. Versed as you are in the language, depend on none, where you yourself can possibly hear and determine. Let access to you be easy, and be careful of the conduct of your dependents. Aim at no undue influence yourself, and check it in all others. Great share of integrity, disinterestedness, assiduity, and watchfulness is necessary, not only for your own guidance, but as an example to all others; for your activity and advice will be in vain, unless confirmed by example. Carefully avoid all interested views by commerce, or otherwise, in the province, whilst on this service; for, though ever so fair and honest, it will awaken the attention of the designing, double the labour of developing stratagems, and of removing burthens and discouragements with which the commerce of the country in general has been loaded. You have before you a large field to establish both a national and private character; lose not the opportunity, which is to be temporary only, for your whole proceedings will be quickly revised; a test which the board consider due to themselves, as a confirmation of the propriety of their choice; to you, as an act of justice to your conduct; and to the public, for the security of its interests. As the extent and importance of your trust are great, so in proportion will be the approbation or censure, arising from your good or ill conduct in it, be attended with unusual distinction or particular severity. Sentiments which I convey to you, to shew the degree of confidence the Board repose in your integrity and abilities; but by which I mean not the remotest suspicion, either in them or myself, of your disappointing their expectations.

You

You are to be careful to acquaint me, or the resident at the Durbar for the time being, with every material circumstance worthy of remark; your correspondence must, consequently, be regularly and closely kept up; and you are to follow all such farther orders as I may judge necessary to send you.

I wish you success in this undertaking, and am,

Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

Select Committee's resolutions thereon.

Fort William, August 16, 1769.

It is unanimously agreed to lay the foregoing observations, and sentiments of the Committee, before the President and Council, in order for their being carried into execution with all convenient expedition.

The letter of instructions, which the President has framed and laid before us, for the guidance of the future supra-visors, being drawn up with so much clearness and precision, and with an equal knowledge of the subject, that the Committee cannot suffer it to be recorded, without recording, also, their unanimous approbation of it.

On the GOLD COINAGE.

No. 135.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 2d, 1766.

Mr. Campbell, the assay-master, being called before the Board, reads the regulations proposed by the Committee for establishing a gold coinage. Whereupon they observe it is proposed, that the par of exchange between the new gold mohur and the silver sicca rupee shall for the present be estimated at the rate of fifteen to one, which they think too considerable a profit for the merchants and proprietors for bringing their gold to the mint, and are of opinion, that the proportion of fourteen to one, which will yield a premium above the par of silver about eight per cent. will be a sufficient encouragement to them for that purpose. The assay-master being thereupon directed to make the said alteration, digests the whole into the form of a letter, which is ordered to be entered hereafter. The other part of the regulations pointed out by the Committee being entirely approved,—

Ordered, that the said regulations be communicated to the resident at the Durbar, with directions to put them into execution as soon as possible, and that public notice be also given at this Presidency for that purpose.

To William Brightwell Sumner, Esq. &c. Council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

In obedienee to your commands, I have now the honour to lay before you the plan adopted by the Select Committee, and approved by the ministers, for establishing a gold currency to obviate the scarcity of money which so large an annual exportation of bullion to China must necessarily produce. The scheme hath already been intimated to the honourable Court of Directors, not as an effectual remedy, but as a palliative, which will obstruct the progress of the evil, until a more radical cure be discovered.

To give such encouragement to the importation of foreign gold, and advantages to the natives who hoard up and secrete this metal, as might induce them to apply their useless treasures to the public benefit, were the great objects of the Committee. The difficulty lay in fixing upon such a rate of exchange as should answer the intention of bring-

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ing gold to the treasury, without reducing silver below that natural value which it bears in most kingdoms in Europe, since this circumstance might be productive of inconveniences at home. Gold being merely a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very uncertain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated.

1. That the gold mohurs shall be struck bearing the same impression with the present Murshed-abad sicca, and that this mohur shall also be issued in the subdivisions of halves, quarters, and eighths.

2. That the new coin shall be of the fineness of twenty carats, or it shall contain one-sixth part of an alloy, which reduces it to Rs. 16 : 9 : 4 per Cent. below the value of pure gold, to 14 : 7 : 7 below the mean fineness of the Sicca and Dehly mohurs, and to 8 : 2 : 2 one-third beneath the standard of the present Arcot gold mohurs. The reasons for fixing upon this standard are, that it is deemed the most convenient for allowing the proposed encouragement to the merchants and the proprietors of gold, and likewise for avoiding the great delay and expence of refining in a country where the process is not understood, and the materials for conducting it are obtained with difficulty.

3. That the gold mohur shall be encreased from fifteen annas, the present actual weight, to sixteen annas, the better to avoid the inconvenience of fractional numbers in the subdivisional parts and the exchange.

4. That the par of exchange between the gold mohurs and the silver Sicca rupee shall for the present be estimated at the rate of fourteen to one, reckoning upon the *intrinsic* * value of either. Thus, a gold mohur weighing sixteen annas shall be deemed equivalent to fourteen sicca rupees.

You will perceive, gentlemen, that a discount of one in fifteen, or 6 : 10 : 8 per Cent. is now made on the exchange proposed by the Committee, in order to obviate the very reasonable objection which the Board made to the exorbitant profits assigned to the merchants and proprietors.

5. That the silver Sicca rupee shall not be less than the standard of 11 oz. 15 dwt. or 13 dwt. better than English standard, whence will arise

A profit to the merchant of gold	-	3 per Cent.
A batta on the gold mohur	- - -	3 ditto.
A charge of coinage and duties	- -	2 ditto.
		8 per Cent.

which increased value is calculated from the generally-received exchange of gold and silver, and not upon the market-price of gold, which fluctuates daily.

6. That all payments, whether of a public or a private nature, shall be made at the established batta, and every attempt to create an artificial batta, or exchange, shall be rigorously punished.

7. That a tender of payment, either public or private, shall in future be equally valid in gold and silver, and that a refusal of the established gold currency shall incur such punishment as this Board may think proper to inflict.

8. That public notice shall be given to all Zemeendars, collectors of the revenue, and others, that the collections may be made indiscriminately in gold and in silver, the

* This word *intrinsic* has been substituted in the place of *numerary*; but as *intrinsic* appears in the copy at the India house, I have not ventured to correct the error. That the sense requires *numerary* is evident from the preceding regulations stated in the letter, by which it appears that the gold Mohur contains more *pure gold*, than the Sicca rupee contains *pure silver*; yet are they *numerically* exchanged as one to fourteen. The second paragraph of the letter, moreover, has these words: "It was thought proper "to make the *mean rate of exchange in Europe* the principle, upon which the *following regulations* for a "gold currency *are calculated*."

former

former to be received at the mint and treasury, at the rate proposed in the 2d article; that is the Sicca and Dehly mohurs to be reckoned with an alloy of 14 : 7 : 7 per Cent. and the Arcot mohur, with an alloy of 8 : 2 : 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, which will produce, agreeably to the principle of exchange laid down, the advantage proposed in article the 5th.

These, gentlemen, are the regulations proposed by the right honourable the President, and the members of the Select Committee; upon which I shall beg your permission to offer the following remarks.

The establishing a gold currency in the country appears to me the only practicable method of abolishing that pernicious system of reducing the Batta on Sicca rupees annually. There being now a fixed standard of value for silver, that metal must in time necessarily settle at the precise point which determines the proportion it bears to gold. Neither will the scarcity of any species of rupees affect the Batta, since the gold currency will always afford the means of payment without loss by the exchange. The Batta of the Mohur being invariable, will soon render that of the silver invariable also; or else the principle of exchange will be destroyed, and of consequence the profit to the merchant will become precarious. This effect I think must necessarily flow from the full establishment of a gold currency; and were there no other advantage attending it than reducing to a fixed determinate value the great variety of coins with which business is distracted in this country, that alone would be well worth the experiment.

It will be absolutely necessary that the utmost care be taken to prevent any debasement of the fixed standard of the gold Mohur, which is already rated so high in the exchange. I should myself apprehend that a fraud of such dangerous tendency to the public credit should be punished with death; and as the English laws will not authorize so rigorous a punishment, except for the adulteration of the current coin of Great Britain, that the laws of the country should take place. Your resolution on this head should be published in the mint at Murshed-abad; and as a farther check on the coiners, the resident might be required occasionally to send down specimens of the money to be assayed in Calcutta.

I should likewise imagine that severe penalties should be annexed to the secreting, defacing, clipping, or melting down the new coinage; and that the same, together with the punishment to be inflicted on every attempt to vary the Batta, or obstruct the currency, should be promulgated in every district of the Nabob's dominions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Fort William, June 2, 1766.

(Signed) ALEX. CAMPBELL.

No. 136.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated the 20th March, 1769.

Read the following letter from the European merchants and principal inhabitants of Calcutta; also, a petition from the Armenian merchants, and a letter from the Mayor's Court; setting forth the great difficulties and distresses to which themselves, and the inhabitants in general, are reduced, from the increasing scarcity of specie, and earnestly requesting the assistance of the Board for a relief from the ruinous evil.

A.

To the Honourable Harry Verelst, &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN,

The universal distress of the settlement at present for specie, will, we hope, excuse our troubling you with this address, requesting in our names, and those of the inhabitants of Calcutta in general, the assistance of your government and authority to remedy this evil, which grows every day more severely felt by every merchant in Bengal.

We are highly sensible of your care and attention to the welfare of the inhabitants, from your late orders regarding the gold Mohurs; and flatter ourselves that this application, as it equally merits, will equally meet with your regard.

Before the gold Mohurs were called in, the Shroffs had so far taken the advantage of the necessity of individuals, that they had made the changing of money, from a bare livelihood, to a most advantageous trade to themselves, and a distressful tax upon every man who wanted money beyond the bounds of Calcutta; yet, at that very time, any sum might have been had in silver, by paying a high premium to those people who had it in their possession. From this we are led to believe, that there is still specie sufficient for the trade of Bengal, though perhaps not enough to answer the currency of this extensive town; and that if any method could be fallen upon to keep the Shroffs to their prophet sphere, and prevent their taking advantage of the necessities of those who carry on trade to the Aurungs, a gold coin might still be made a convenient and useful currency for this settlement, though not for the trade of Bengal in general; whereas at present the distress is so great, that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a risk of ruin by attachments on his goods, which would not sell for half their value, it being impossible to raise a large sum at any premium on bond.

As many of us have severely felt the late inconveniences, we have often reflected on the various methods by which it appeared to us possible to remedy them, and we hope yon will excuse our subjoining one for your superior judgment, which appears to us most reasonable; that is, to coin Mohurs, half Mohurs, and quarter Mohurs, equal in value and standard to those commonly called Dehly; forbidding, by your authority, any Shroff, under pain of severe fine and imprisonment, to exact more than one per Cent. for exchanging them into silver, for the purposes of merchants trading out of Calcutta; with which allowance we are persuaded they will become satisfied in the course of a few months; since, before there was any gold coin sufficient in Calcutta, they subsisted by exchanging Sicca rupees into Arcotts, Sunnauts, &c. for the Aurung trade; and we do not remember the exchange ever exceeded two per Cent. and was in general only from ¼ to ½ per Cent. Praying your pardon for this long trespass on your patience, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves with the utmost respect,

Gentlemen, Your most obedient and most humble servants,

CORN. GOODWIN, JOHN BATHOE, HUGH INGLIS, R. HUNTER, J. ATCHINSON, JAMES FRAZER, JOSEPH JEKYLL, HUGH BAILLIE, W. BARTON, ROBT. DOBINSON, ALEX. MURRAY, E. STEPHENSON, KIER, REED, CATOR, and Co. R. SAUNDERSON, WILLIAM MAGEE, RUSSEL SKINNER, JOHN ROBINSON, FRANCIS DOUGLAS, H. COTTRELL, W. HARWOOD, DAN. CAMPBELL, SAM. MIDDLETON, JAMES ELLIS, HENRY GRANT, JOHN PETRIE, JAMES LISTER, NATH. MIDDLETON, JOSEPH PRICE, DANIEL HOISSARD, PAGE KEBLE.

To

B.

To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the Armenian Merchants settled in Calcutta,

Sheweth,

That the scarcity of coin now felt in this capital, amongst the many intolerable evils arising from it, affects every individual to that degree, that the best houses, with magazines full of goods, are distressed for daily provisions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, likely to involve every soul in the settlement, but a real famine in the midst of wealth and plenty. That to prevent those evils from coming to a destructive crisis, your petitioners, prompted by that zeal incumbent upon them as ancient British subjects, and by their own heart-felt distresses, humbly beg leave to submit to your wisdom how far an immediate coinage of Mohurs, with all their divisions and subdivisions to one Anna, sixteen Siccas value of pure gold, to be lawfully tendered in payment universally all over these British dominions, and admitted at the treasury of both capitals, might be an adequate means to ward off the impending ruin; since any coin whatever is better than no coin at all; a measure brought on by the artificial scarcity of silver coin, strongly pointed out by the combinations evidently entered upon by the bankers, and warranted by the large quantity of gold lately imported into this place: a measure for the rectitude of which your petitioners can account to their own consciences, and in the support whereof they hereby beg leave to pledge their good faith and honour. Your petitioners humbly hope, honourable Sir and Sirs, that your goodness will take the premises into consideration, or give them whatever relief your wisdom shall think fit.

And your petitioners, bound in gratitude and duty, shall ever pray, &c.

C.

To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. President, &c. Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The honourable the Mayor's court of the town of Calcutta, beg leave to represent, that in the practice of their court they have for some time past observed the growth of an evil, which has daily increased, insomuch that the sufferings of many will thereby become intolerable, unless a speedy relief be afforded them. The evil of which they speak, is the very great decrease of specie, so that there remains not sufficient for the occasions and intercourse of commerce, and scarcely for the private œconomy of the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is felt by all ranks of people in the loss of credit and confidence; the fair and honest dealer is every day prosecuted to judgment in their court without remedy, from the impossibility of obtaining payment from his debtors, to satisfy the claim of his creditors, but by a course of law. He is thus urged by his necessity to involve himself in expensive suits; he is forced to defend, in order to gain time, though sensible of the justness, and desirous to pay the demand; and he is drove to a hasty prosecution, in hopes to recover, before judgment passeth against himself, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingness to pay as soon as he is able; his substance is in this manner wasted, and the distress which follows too obvious and moving to need description.

They are unable to express what they feel in the discharge of their duty; but the daily instances of the melancholly consequences of this calamity, call upon them to lay this faithful representation before you, in full confidence, from the experienced tenderness and zeal for the public prosperity and welfare, which has so particularly

 distin-

distinguished your administration, of such effectual remedy as in your wisdom you shall judge most meet.

By order of the honourable, the Mayor's Court,

Town Hall, Calcutta, March 14, 1769.

JOHN HOLME, Register.

The Board being fully sensible, from daily observation and experience, of the truth of the facts alledged in these letters and petition, and convinced of the fatal consequences, which must speedily and unavoidably accrue from them to the Company's affairs both at home and in India,——

Resolved, We immediately take this affair into consideration, and endeavour, as far as possible, to find out some safe, or at least temporary remedy, for this growing evil, till the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors shall enable us to remove it entirely. Upon a strict and impartial enquiry, we find that this scarcity of specie, so severely felt by the merchants here, is not an accidental or fictitious one, nor confined to Calcutta alone, but that the same indigence is spread over the whole country, so that the ministers have made no secret of their apprehensions, that either the revenues must fall short, or be collected in kind, from a want of a sufficient currency for sales and purchases. We can expect no relief in this, from any sums brought into the country, for the purpose of trade inland, because all the commerce formerly to the north-west and westward by Guzzerat, Cashmeree, Mogul merchants, &c. is now precluded by the vast increase of our own and foreign investments, whose advance we see with concern, but where the strictness of the Company's orders will not permit us to interfere, though ever so indirectly. We can expect no silver from home, and a mere trifle from the foreign companies. The French treasury has been amply supplied this year by bills for above twenty lacks on this settlement from England, besides vast sums paid into their cash by individuals. The Dutch imports of bullion have, for several years past, not exceeded eight or ten lacks per annum, and the Danes bring not in above two lacks more. The country's distress must also yearly encrease. Its whole revenues are diverted into our treasury, and only the sums necessary for the investment, and our current expences, return again into the channel of circulation. The difference, therefore, between the amount of the revenues, and the sum of the investment and disbursements, is an annual loss to the currency, and must, in the end, swallow up the whole, unless a proportional import of specie is made, or till the aggregate of the investment and disbursements shall become equal to the whole revenues. This will explain the unavoidable increase of poverty in the country; and as the treasury is a continual drain upon that, so the immense exports to China, Madrass, Bombay, with the King's tribute, and the expence of a brigade out of our provinces, will but too well account for the low ebb to which it has, in its turn, been reduced. If we consider the state of the provinces in this point of view, and reflect, at the same time, that they produce no silver or gold, so that imports of both have been, for a series of years, very inconsiderable; that a large proportion of their treasures were carried off by a fugitive tyrant, and that, for several years, few returns have been made to exports in general, and trade rendered a kind of monopoly in the hands of a few, we shall rather be surprized how the country has supported itself so long under such exhausting circumstances, than at the rapid progress of general penury.

The

The Board having duly and maturely weighed this matter, and having consulted the principal merchants, Banyans, bankers, and the ministers of the Nizamut, do resolve to recommend to the Nizamut, the establishing a new gold currency, on and according to the following rules and restrictions.

The Mohur to be of the ancient Dehly standard, to weigh seventeen annas Sicca weight, and to be issued and received in all public and private disbursements and receipts whatever, at 16 Sicca rupees each Mohur. The Mohur to be subdivided into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths; so that each sixteenth shall be the value of one Sicca rupee. That all gold delivered into the mint for coinage, be coined in the following proportions: supposing 100 Mohurs,

A number not exceeding	25	to be coined into		25	pieces.
Halves - - -	18	ditto.	- -	36	ditto.
Quarters - - - - -	18	ditto.	- -	72	ditto.
Eighths - - - -	18	ditto.	- -	144	ditto.
Sixteenths - -	21	ditto.	- -	336	ditto.
Mohurs	100	ditto.	- -	613	ditto.

That for the prevention of frauds and abuses, persons should be appointed to superintend on the part of the Company, (as Dewans of the Subah, and therefore principally concerned in the currency of the coin in these provinces, having the collections of their revennes) the assays of all gold in the mints of Murshed-abad, Patna, and Dacca, with the governments assay-master, and no coinage be issued from either mint, but what has been thus jointly assayed. That no duties, either on behalf of the government, Company, Governor, or mint-master, be received, nor any charge, farther than a per Centage, equivalent to the actual expence of coinage.

That no mint or assay-master shall refuse to receive any gold whatever for coinage or assay, and that every assay-master shall, when applied to by any merchant or other, assay any gold brought to him for assay, and every quantity brought shall have the seal of the assay-master fixed on such parcel, and a certificate given him under the assay-master's hand, specifying the assay, that the proprietor of such gold may know at all times its real value.

The advantages expected to be derived from this arrangement are,

1. An increase of currency by a species of coin upon a standard as near as possible to the established one of silver, and whose numerous sub-divisions will enable it to supply the place of silver in all smaller disbursements and receipts.

2. That as, on a moderate computation, near twenty lacks in gold are now lying useless in Calcutta, from the want of a fixed gold currency, and other considerable sums may be expected in return for the Bassorah Judda, and other cargoes, from whence alone we can hope supplies of specie; the whole amount of these will run into the general circulation of the currency, instead of remaining as a mere matter of merchandize.

3. That as a proportion of $\frac{1}{16}$ of seventeen annas of Sicca gold to one Sicca rupee, is, as near as possible, to the respective value of the old standard, gold and silver, throughout the empire, its currency may fairly and justly be every where enforced, nor can any combination or artifice of the bankers and Shroffs, ever make such a difference in the exchange, as in any degree to affect the profits and welfare of trade in general; or should prudence or policy hereafter prescribe the recall of such a coinage, the Company will sustain little loss or detriment.

Lastly,

Lastly, It will effectually render abortive the schemes of the French, of distressing this settlement and country by the large sums in silver they have drawn into their treasury, in payment for their Europe bills, by introducing a currency nearly as convenient, and on as fair a standard, as the very silver they have so earnestly laboured to engross.

Agreed, That the President be requested to communicate this scheme to the ministers of the government, to desire their sentiments thereon; and if it meets their concurrence, that they will enforce the proposed establishment of a gold currency.

No. 137.

Extract of a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn (acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal) to the President and Council at Fort William; recorded on Consultations, March 28th, 1769.

If orders were issued for a coinage of gold of the Dehly fineness in the several mints, and that it shall be received in the payment of the revenue, and become current in the several factories, and in all mercantile transactions whatever, and care was taken to enforce those orders throughout the provinces; both private and public business would be carried on without any of those delays and interruptions which, at present, arise from the general scarcity of silver.

No. 138.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Becher, resident at the Durbar, to the Select Committee, dated May 5th, 1769.

Some Mohurs of the new gold coinage were received yesterday, in part of the Poonah Kists, and the ministers will immediately issue strict orders for receiving, in all the districts, gold when offered in payment of the revenues, and hope the currency will be established without difficulty.

No. 139.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 30th, 1769.

Received a letter from (Mr. Rumbold) the chief of Patna, dated the 21st instant, acquainting us that particular directions have been received from the Nabob by Seetabroy for establishing a gold coinage at Patna; and as it is mentioned among the regulations that a person should be stationed there on the part of the Company, to prevent any frauds in the coinage, to request our orders concerning it.

No. 140.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 17th, 1769.

Received a letter from the governor and Mr. Becher (at the city of Murshed-abad) dated the 9th of June, advising, that they enclose us an account of the difference between the three known standards of gold in Hindostan, that the ministers recommend, and that they have acquiesced in the propriety of their remarks. That the standard of Mahomed Shah, approaching nearest to the proportional value of gold and silver, is therefore better adapted for the purpose of exchange, and a general currency in commerce; and that it derives an additional advantage from the respect and reputation in which that coin is held, and from the universal satisfaction with which it has always been received; and that, for these considerations, we are induced to approve

prove of Mahomed Shah's ſtandard, in preference to the Venetian, for the preſent currency. And having received advice that Mohurs of this ſtandard have been ſtruck in the mints of Patna and Dacca, in conſequence of ſamples tranſmitted from thence, and that they met with a ready circulation, which is a farther inducement to them in their preſent recommendation thereof.

The Board being fully ſatisfied, as well from the recommendation of the miniſters, as from the report laid before them by the aſſay-maſter, that the ſtandard of Mahomed Shah approaches the neareſt to the proportional value between gold and ſilver, do agree and reſolve, that the reſolutions of the 20th of March, ſhall immediately take place, and that the ſubordinates be adviſed thereof; that the chiefs be directed to appoint ſome perſon on the part of the Company, to ſuperintend the buſineſs of the mint, and ſee that the regulations be properly attended to; and that the ſecretary iſſue public advertiſements of this our reſolution, for the information of the inhabitants of the town.

No. 141.

The following diary of the price of ſilver in Calcutta, exhibits undeniable proof of the advantages derived by the Shroffs, from the prevailing ſcarcity of ſilver rupees, and obſtruction to the currency of gold Mohurs. It farther explains how neceſſary it became for the Board to adopt ſome expedient for repreſſing the preſent evil, relieving the inhabitants, and iſſuing a gold coin which ſhould be univerſally received for the purpoſes of trade; it was for this reaſon they made choice of the ſtandard of Mahomed Shah, which had always been held in the greateſt eſteem amongſt the natives of Bengal, and was particularly deſired at this time, by the united voice of the people. To underſtand this diary, it muſt be obſerved, the eſtabliſhed Battas are as follow:

viz. 9 Sun Siccas, being the coin ſtruck that year, are 16 per Cent.
8 Suns, the coin of the preceding year, are 13 per Cent.
Sunats, being the third year in circulation, are 11 per Cent.
Arcots, are 8 per Cent.

The deviation from theſe numbers expreſs the riſe or fall of Batta, which exceſs ought to be deducted from the extraordinary diſcount on the gold Mohurs of 1766.

		9 Sun Siccas		8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.	
1768, June	1	22	14 per Cent.	22	8		15	8
	2	25		23			17	
	3	25		23	2		17	4
	4	25		23	4		17	4
	5	25		23	4		17	4
	6	25		23	4		17	4
	7	25		23	4		17	2
	8	25	8	23	4		17	6
	9	26		23	5		17	6
	10	26		23	8		17	12
	11	25	12	23	15		18	
	12	25	12	24	8		18	8
	13	27	4	24	9		19	

9 Sun

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
1768, June 14	27 4	24 9 6		19
15	27 8	24 12	23 12	19
16	27 8	24 4	23 12	18 8
17	27 8	24 8	23 12	18 4
18	27 3	24	22 8	18 4
19	27 3	24 4	22 8	18 4
20	27 8	24	22 8	18 8
21	27	24		18 8
22	26	23 12		18
23	25 8	22		17
24	25	21		16
25	24	21		15
26	23 12	20 8		14 8
27	22	18		14 4
28	22	17 8		14
29	19 11	17		13 12
30	20	16 8		13 8

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
July 1	19	16 8		12
2	20	17		12
3	19	16 12		12
4	19 2	17 4		12 8
5	19 4	17 8		12 8
6	19 8	18		12 8
7	22	20 12		15 4
8	21	21		15
9	24 8	21 8		16 8
10	24 8	22 4		16 8
11	24	22		16 8
12	23 8	20 14		15
13	23	19		14 12
14	22	18 8		14 12
15	21	18		14 12
16	22 5	19		15
17	22 8	20		15
18	22 8	19 4		15
19	22 8	19 8		15
20	22 12	20		15 4
21	22 4	20 4		15 4
22	22	19 12		15 8
23	22	19 12		15 12

9 Sun

		9 Sun Siccas		8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.	
1768, July	24	22	4	20	4		15	12
	25	22	8	20	12		16	
	26	23		20	12		16	
	27	20	12	21			16	
	28	23	8	21			16	
	29	23	8	21			16	
	30	23	8	21	2		16	4
	31	23	12	21	6		16	6

	Sun Siccas		8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.	
	24		24	8		16	6
	24	8	22	12		18	
	25		22	12		18	
	25	8	23			18	4
	26		23	4		18	8
	26	8	23	8		18	10
	26	8	25	8		18	8
	27		24			18	8
	26	8	23	7		18	8
	26	8	23	7		18	8
	26	8	23	12		18	8
	26	12	23	12		18	8
	26	12	23	10		18	8
	26	12	23	10		18	12
	27		23	12		19	
	27	4	24			19	
17	27	4	24			19	
18	27	4	24			19	
19	27	10	23	8		18	8
20	28		23	12		18	12
21	28		24			19	
22	28		23			19	
23	28	4	24			19	
24	28	8	24	4		19	8
25	28	8	24	4		19	6
26	28	12	24	4		19	6
27	29	4	24	8		19	6
28	29		24	8		19	6
29	29		24	8		19	6
30	29		24	8		19	6
31	29		24	8		19	6

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No. 141.

Account of the number of gold Mohurs coined in Bengal, in consequence of regulations established in the year 1766.

In the mint of Calcutta	177,871	
Patna	15,274	
Murshed-abad	70,000	
Total Mohurs		263,145
Of the above sent to Madrass	134,417	
Balance remaining in Bengal in March 1769	128,728	
		263,145

PAPERS relating to the SOCIETY for carrying on the SALT, &c. Trade.

No. 142.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Nov. 21st, 1766.

PAR. 19. We find in the Burdwan accounts, the committee of lands, and the President and Council who passed them, never required, as it was their duty to have done, an explanation of the enormous sum passed under the head of charges residency; so that successive Governors and Councils winked at this abuse. And in the present case, many members of the Board had passed through the office of chief of Midnapore, each treading in the corrupt steps of his predecessor. And by Mr. Watts's letter, entered on your proceedings of the 20th of January last, it appears, these things were no secret to the Governor and Council, nor even to the public.

21. At the same time that we assure Mr. Verelst of the high sense we entertain of his upright conduct in the bringing to light these fraudulent practices in the province of Midnapore, and adding so greatly to our revenue, we would also have you assure Mr. Graham, that he suffers no imputation on this account, and that we regard him as a valuable servant.

22. Our letters of these two years past, sufficiently testify how entirely we agree with you in your opinion of the corruption and licentiousness of our servants, the horrible abuses committed in the carrying on the inland trade, the vast sums extorted for restitution and for donations, the contempt and violation of our most positive orders, and lastly, the glaring frauds known and connived at in the collection of the revenues at Burdwan and Midnapore, amply justify your opinion, that all ranks are tainted with it, and we readily conceive the difficulty you were under how to fill up the Council. Peace and tranquility could not be said to be fairly established, while so factious and licentious a spirit prevailed, and you therefore did well to extend the construction of those words to an act so essentially necessary as the calling down the four gentlemen from Madrass.

30. We

30. We recommend it to you to put the most extensive construction on the powers we have vested in you to correct all abuses. It is impossible for us to point out remedies for malversations that have been hitherto unheard of; the covenants guard against donations; the 19th paragraph to you of the 17th May last, forbids the holding of farms; the 18th paragraph of the general letter of that date, forbids the lending money to the natives at more than 12 per Cent. interest; and we now make it a standing order, that no servant of the Company, or Englishman residing under their protection, shall hold any post, office, or employment, under any country power whatsoever.

36. We have the pleasure to assure you we highly approve your conduct in general, and we most earnestly entreat you to persevere in the same zealous attention to our interest.

No. 143.

Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 16th, 1765.

The Committee for managing the plan of trade in the several articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, send in the following letter, soliciting a deed to secure the proprietors in right to the same, during the continuance of their present engagements, to be renewed every season as long as it may be agreeable to the honourable Company, that this plan should subsist.

To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of the plan which you have been pleased to entrust to our management, we have, for some time past, been taking measures for regulating the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and have already concluded considerable contracts for the purchase of the first article.

Having thus engaged in the trade, and made advances for the society's property, with a view of being able to carry it on agreeable to your said plan, it becomes a necessary consideration with us, on behalf of the body for whom we act, to have them secured against any innovations, during the continuance of their present engagements. The terms of the purchase contracts will run for the ensuing year's produce of the several articles, and the vend will be concluded as soon after as possible. We therefore request that your lordship, &c. Council, will furnish us with such a deed in writing as you shall think sufficient to secure to the society the free and sole purchase of the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the first September 1765, to the 31st August 1766, allowing sufficient time to dispose of such purchase for the season; to be renewed every season as long as shall be agreeable to the honourable Company, that this plan should subsist; and, as a very great loss would arise to the proprietors, should any alteration happen after the concern of the year is begun, and before it is finished, that ample provision be made for the continuance and conclusion of such concern.

We are the more earnest to be satisfied in this point, as until we obtain your compliance, we find we shall not be able to establish the credit of the society amongst the merchants, so as to raise the necessary fund for carrying the trade on.

We are with respect, &c.

W. B. SUMNER, H. VERELST, R. LEYCESTER, G. GRAY.

Fort William, Sept. 11th, 1765.

The fame having been perufed and confidered, we are unanimous in opinion refpecting the propriety of paffing the deed requefted by the fociety, and fuch a one is accordingly ordered to be prepared by Mr. Whittal *, for the fecurity of the prefent proprietors.

It is agreed to apply to the Company for permiffion to renew the fame for the future concerns, if the plan meets with their approbation; and the Committee is advifed in anfwer accordingly, with further information, that when the prefent deed is prepared and executed, it fhall be tranfmitted to them.

No. 144.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Clive to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, September 29th, 1765.

PAR. 17. The regulation now eftablifhed for the falt trade will, I hope, be entirely to your fatisfaction. I at firft intended to propofe, that the Company and their fervants fhould be jointly and equally concerned in the trade itfelf: but, upon better confideration, I judged that plan to be rather unbecoming the dignity of the Company, and concluded it would be better, that they fhould give the trade entirely to their fervants, and fix a duty upon it for themfelves, equivalent to half the profits. This duty we have computed at the rate of 35 per Cent. for the prefent; but, I imagine, it will be able next year to bear an increafe. The articles of beetle and tobacco being of lefs confequence, and yielding much lefs advantage, the duties upon them, of courfe, muft be lefs. For farther particulars of thefe regulations, I beg leave to refer you to the Committee letter and proceedings, as I would not here trouble you with the repetition of a matter which is there fo fully laid before you.

18. The advantages propofed for the Governor and Council would undoubtedly appear extremely large to thofe who are unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberlefs opportunities which the Company's fervants have of acquiring money. But you, who are now perfectly informed of the revenues of thefe kingdoms, and the prodigious emoluments within the reach of gentlemen high in the fervice, will, I am perfuaded, agree with me, that if fome plan of the nature propofed be not adopted, the Governor and Council will not fail to acquire much larger fortunes, by other means, in a much fhorter time; which muft always be productive of that quick fucceffion, not only fo detrimental to your commercial intereft, but fo totally incompatible with the acquifition of political knowledge, which ought now to be confidered as a very material qualification in all your civil as well as military fervants. To obviate an objection which may arife, that they may poffibly proceed in the old way of procuring money, notwithftanding they accept of thefe allowances, I would have an oath tendered to them, of as ftrong and folemn a nature as can be penned. I have drawn out the form of one, agreeable to my idea of the expedient, and have the honour to enclofe it for your confideration. To this may be annexed, a penalty bond of 150,000 l. to be executed by the Governor, and 50,000 l. to be executed by each of the Council.

* See chapter IV. p. 112, note (*) at the bottom.

No. 145.

Copy of Lord Clive's Minute in Select Committee, dated Fort William, September 3d, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,

Sometime before my departure from England, the Court of Directors debated upon the propriety of suffering their servants in Bengal to trade in the articles of salt, beetle, and tobacco; and it could not be expected they would continue to them the enjoyment of those profitable branches, unless means were devised, by which the natives could no longer be oppressed, and by which the Nabob and the Company would largely partake of the advantages. Upon a firm persuasion that such means would be devised, they were pleased to defer their final determinations of this matter, till the sentiments of the Select Committee should be transmitted to them. By all their letters of last year, and by several of this, they still seemed inclined to wait for our representations; but by their letter of the 19th of February, by the Lord Camden, they positively forbid their servants to have any concern whatever in this trade. At that time, indeed, they could not have had the least idea of the favourable changes in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned.

When we first took this important matter into consideration, I joined in opinion with the rest of the Committee that, if the trade could be put on such a footing, that if the Nabob should receive more than had been received by any of his predecessors, the Company be amply considered, and the natives become purchasers upon terms full as reasonable as in former times, the servants might be indulged in the privilege under such certain rules and restrictions as would make the trade carry with it as little as possible the odious form of a monopoly. These points having been settled, I consented to the plan laid down last year. My absence from the Presidency, and the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tranquility of the provinces, the interest of the Company, and the honour of the nation, were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wished to this important object, although by the acquisition of the Dewanny the whole of the duties belong to the Company; and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the Committee of trade many useful reformations had taken place; yet from my observation when I was last up the country, and from the heavy complaints against Europeans of the monopoly of trade in general, I find that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he had an undoubted, and a more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing, which justice and humanity would I am sure incline the Committee to establish.

A few weeks more must bring us the final resolutions of the Court of Directors in answer to our dispatches by the Admiral Stevens; and if, notwithstanding the present situation of their affairs, they should think proper to repeat their orders by the Lord Camden, it will be our duty to obey them, and I am persuaded they will be obeyed by this Committee. But if, on the contrary, upon the receipt of our representations, they should change their sentiments, and approve of the regulations already made, no time should be lost on our part in establishing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the Court of Directors have been pleased to express in my endeavours to settle upon an equitable plan that trade which has been the source of so many evils, cannot but promote my zeal for the cause, and make me anxiously wish to see every regulation, that you may join with me in thinking necessary, take place.

The

The Company's duties I beg leave to propofe fhall be encreafed, the fervants ftill receive a reafonable fhare of emolument, and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageoufly fixed. I propofe—

1. That all falt provided by the fociety of trade fhall be fold at Calcutta, and at the other places where it is made, and no where elfe.

2. That the price of falt fhall not exceed 2 rupees per maund, or 200 rupees per 100 maunds.

3. That the falt fhall be fold to the natives only, who are to tranfport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriffa, and to have the whole profits arifing from the fale thereof, and that no Company's fervant, free merchant, or European, fhall be concerned in that article directly or indirectly, after the fale of it at the above places.

4. That the Calcutta black merchants fhall be limited to a certain proportion of purchafe, but that no Banyan, or fervant whatever belonging to any European, fhall be included, or have any concern therein.

5. That every endeavour be made ufe of to encourage the fubftantial merchants of the country, either to come down in perfon to the place where the falt is provided, or to fend their agents, in order to purchafe and tranfport the falt to the different places of fale.

6. That a certain price be fixed for the fale of every maund of falt, at every town, market, or village, where it is fold, according to the diftance and former cuftom.

7. That if falt be fold at any of the Bazars, or markets, for one Cowrie above the ftipulated price, the vender fhall not only forfeit all the falt then found in his poffeffion, but be liable to a forfeit of 1000 rupees for every hundred maunds of falt fo fold, and the falt and money fo forfeited fhall go one half to the informer, and one half to the government.

8. That the minifters at Murfhed-abad and Patna have copies fent them of thefe new regulations, and that they be defired to apply to the Nabob to make the fame known throughout the three provinces; and that every Fouzdar, &c. fee they be put in execution, upon pain of being difmiffed from his employments.

9. This bufinefs being entirely commercial, I propofe that in the inftrument of agreement for the next year, it fhall be provided, that the fociety of trade be anfwerable to the Board for their conduct, that the Board may either make new regulations, or amend thofe made by the fociety of trade, as they fee fit; and that in cafe of neceffity the Select Committe fhall have power to controul the conduct of the whole.

10. That a duty of fifty per Cent. be paid to the Company upon all the falt provided in their own lands, and fifty per Cent. to the government upon all the falt provided in the lands of the government, and fifteen per Cent. upon beetle; which duties, in fact, will be brought to the Company's credit, which, according to the prefent ftate of the falt trade, will produce the Company from 12 to 13 lacks, or from 150,000*l.* to 162,500*l.* per annum.

The prohibition of a free inland trade, however difagreeable to individuals, muft now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and to their immediate returns, which returns fhall be made only to the Prefidency, or to one or other of the eftablifhed factories. The Company are fovereigns in India, and they have declared that the trade carried on for thefe four years paft is an ufurpation not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the exprefs and repeated orders of the Court of Directors. The indulgence, however, in the trade of falt, upon the footing, I hope, it will now be eftablifhed, fhould, in my opinion, obviate all complaints; fince it feems to be the moft equitable modus between the Company and their fervants, and at the fame time a diftribution of natural right to the

the people of the country. Confidering that the late great advantages of unlimited inland trade are cut off, I cannot imagine that the Court of Directors will deny their fervants this fhare of benefit, as a recompence for their attention and affiftance in the management of the important concerns of thefe provinces. On the other hand, I would have the fervants look on thefe emoluments as a gift from the hand of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity, and which will certainly be with-held from them, if ever their authority fhould be refifted, and difcontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Extract of Select Committee proceedings thereon, of the fame date.

His Lordfhip's Minute having been read and maturely confidered, the regulations therein fpecified are unanimoufly approved of.

Agreed, therefore, that the Prefident's regulations for the inland trade be laid before the Council with all convenient difpatch, for their approbation, in order that the neceffary inftructions for profecuting the joint concern for the enfuing feafon, may be immediately iffued to the Committee of trade.

Refolved, that the above concern fhall confift of fixty fhares, and that the proprietors fhall ftand enrolled with the feveral proportions affixed to their names, in the manner afcertained in the following ftatement:

CLASS I.	Counfellors, and Colonels Smith and Sir Robert Barker,	32 fhares.
CLASS II.	Clergymen, fenior and junior merchants, and lieutenant Colonels,	14 2/3 ditto.
CLASS III.	Factors, majors, and furgeons,	9 ditto.
		55 2/3
	See N. B. below.	4 1/3
		60

It appearing from the above divifion of capital ftock that 4 1/3 fhares remain unappropriated; Agreed, that the fame be accounted for at a proper time.

N. B. Thefe fhares were afterwards appropriated to Mr. Bolts, and others.

FINIS.